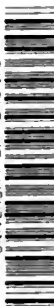


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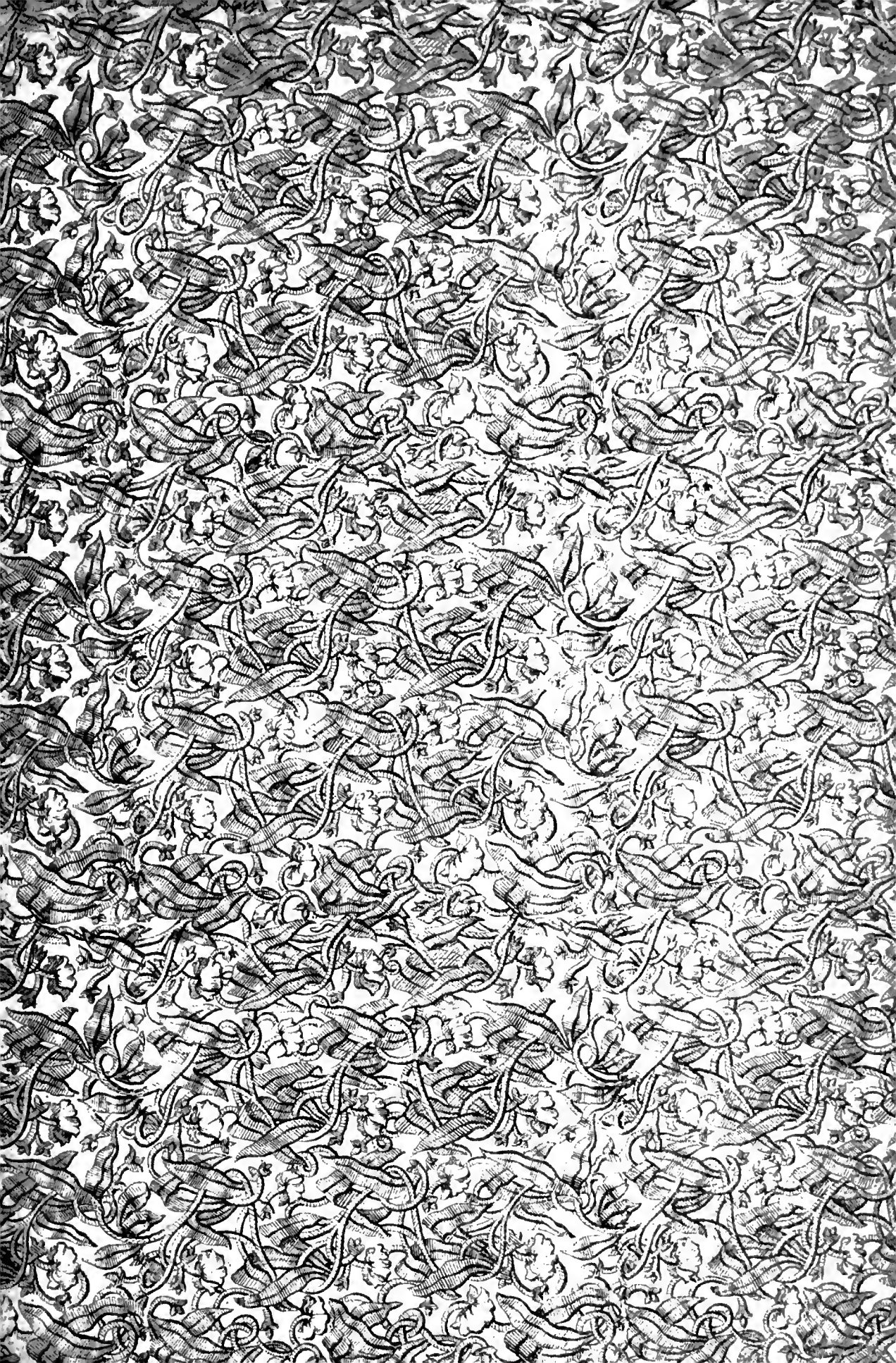
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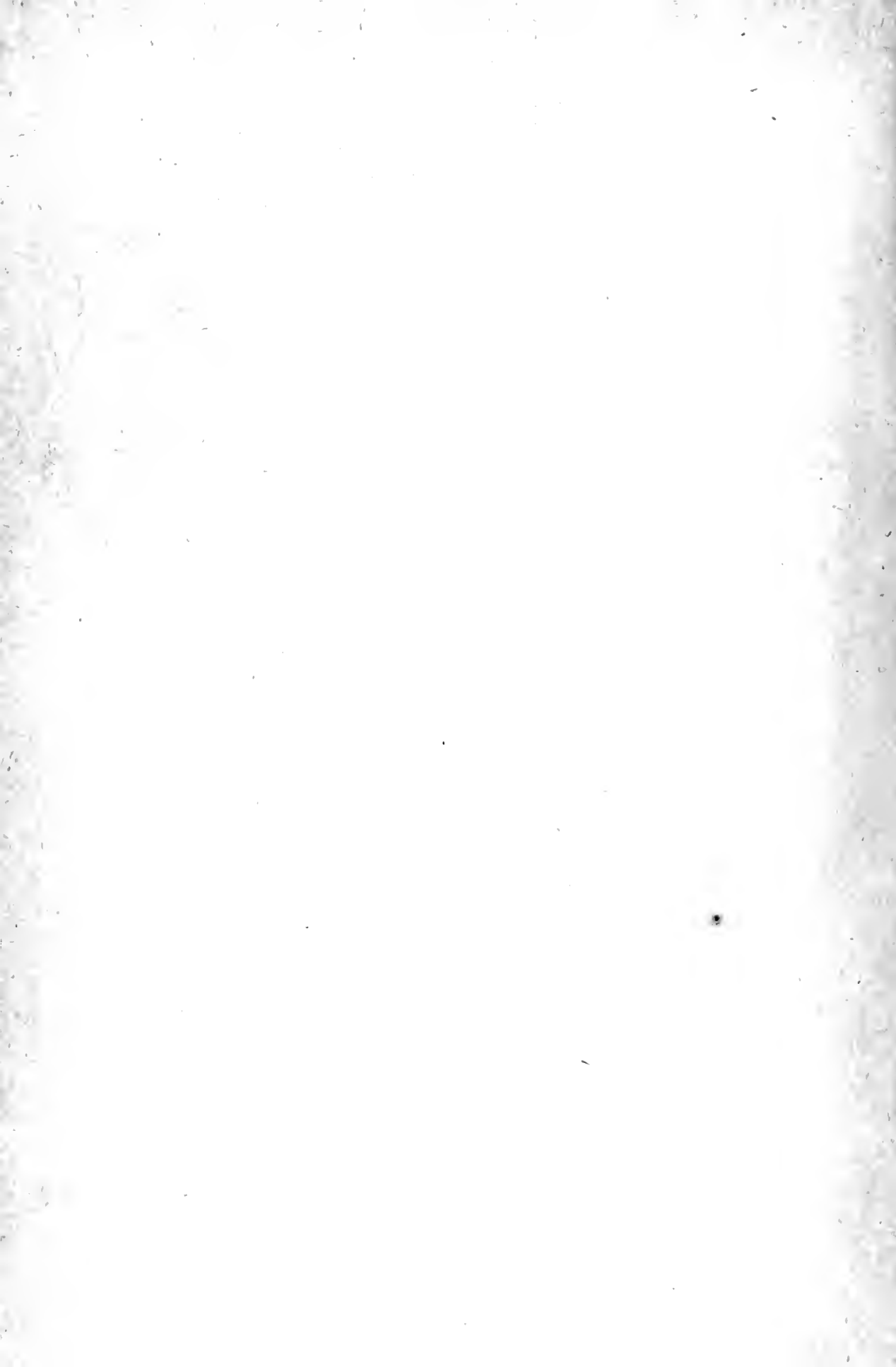
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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY

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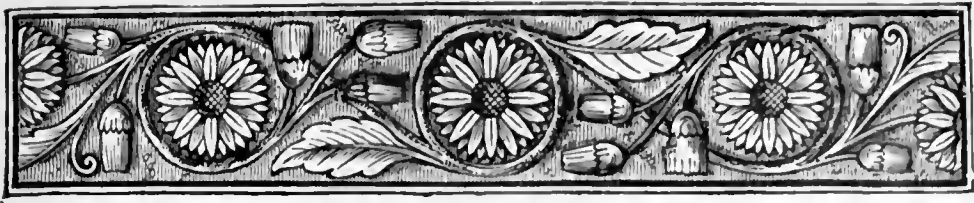
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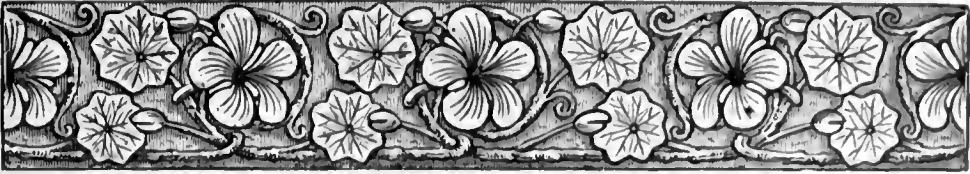
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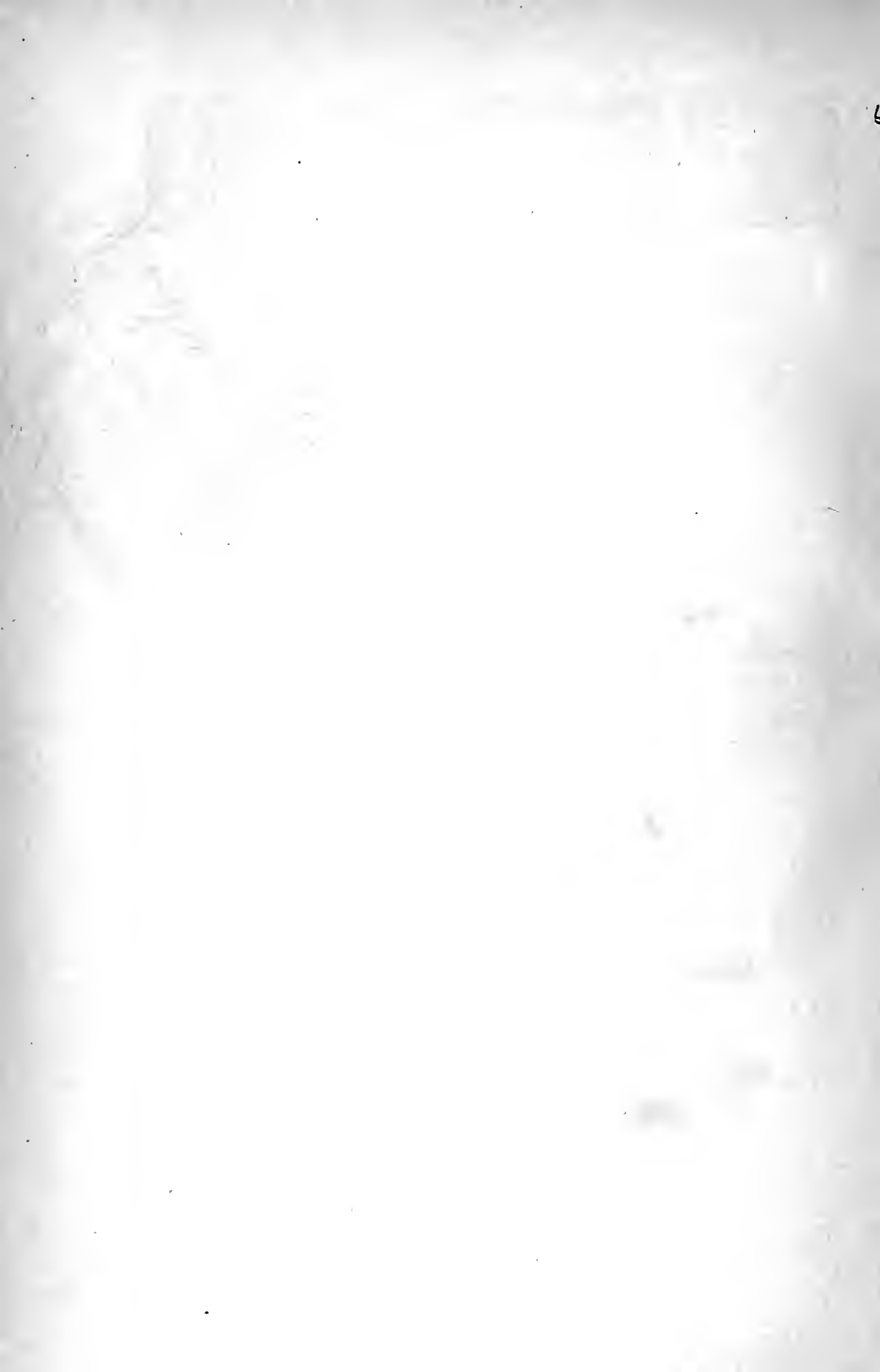
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# HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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## BOOK III.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### A SKETCH OF ENGLISH LITERATURE FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

**T**HE pagan Saxons, Angles, and Jutes brought with them to England from their homes on the Continent ballads and songs in honour of their heathen deities and national heroes, but very little of all this early poetry has survived. The efforts of the Christian missionaries were directed against everything that savoured of paganism, whether in religion or folklore, and the converted Saxons on renouncing their allegiance to Thonar or Woden were forced also to give up their affection for their old heathen poetry. However, in the same way as the efforts of the missionaries could not altogether obliterate from the minds of the masses their belief in the older faith, so, too, they could not sweep away every trace of the older poetry. The most ancient piece of Anglo-Saxon literature extant is the epic of Beowulf, first written down about the second half of the seventh century, dating back in its origin to a very remote period of heathenism. In its present form the hand of a Christian monk is evident, and the attempt has again and again been made to differentiate the Christian and pagan elements of the poem. This most precious relic of the earliest English is preserved in a single manuscript of the tenth century now in the British Museum. The story of Beowulf is briefly this: Hrothgar, king of the Danes, builds a glorious hall for his warriors and himself. Their joy and his is disturbed by the visits of a monster, Grendel by name (*i.e.* "the Grinder"), living near them. Beowulf, a Goth (from that part of the south of Sweden now called Götaland), comes to Hrothgar's aid, and after a fierce combat with Grendel wounds him mortally. Thereafter he has to deal with Grendel's mother, who comes to revenge her son, and carries off from the hall Æschere, Hrothgar's favourite counsellor. The monster dwells in a deep dark

pool, so weird that a hart pursued by hounds would rather give up his life than plunge into the haunted place. Beowulf descends, and with an old giant's sword he finds there, strikes Grendel's mother a fatal blow; with her head in his hand he ascends to the happy Danes. After speech, song, and gifts, Beowulf returns to his king and country. Here ends what may be called the first part of the poem. The second tells how Beowulf becomes ruler of his people, and reigned fifty years. His reign, like Hrothgar's, is troubled by a dragon whose gold-hoard has been plundered by a fugitive slave in search of a hiding-place. Beowulf fearlessly goes against the monster, and attacks him in his cave. He succeeds in killing him, but not before he has himself received a fatally poisonous bite. A faithful comrade, Wiglaf, remains with him to the last, builds his funeral pyre, and erects a mound in which the gold-hoard is placed in honour of the departed:—

“ So the greatest people bewailed  
The fall of their lord; his hearth-companions  
Spake of him as a mighty king,  
Mildest of men, and most tender-hearted,  
Most kind to his folk and desirous of praise.”

This, then, was the kind of epic in which our forefathers before the Conquest delighted—a story of courage and bravery, having for moral Wiglaf's words to the coward thanes: “Death is better than a life of reproach.” These songs they sang at their banquets to the accompaniment of the harp; and the story of the beginnings of early English Christian literature tells how on one such occasion, as the harp passed from hand to hand, one who sat at the table, Cædmon by name, a Whitby man, rose and left the hall. As a pious Christian convert he turned away with disdain from the stories of heathen heroes. He rose and took himself to the stables to watch the cattle for the night; while there a figure came to him in a vision and bade him sing. “I cannot sing,” he said; “therefore I came away from the banquet.” “But,” said the figure, “thou must sing to me.” “What shall I sing?” “Sing to me,” said he, “of the Creation.” Whereupon he sang at once, in praise of God the Creator, verses and words he had never before heard. This story is typical of the depth and earnestness of the English character. Indeed, “praise of God the Creator” may be described as the subject of the great body of Anglo-Saxon poetry that has come down to us, for it is almost altogether of a religious character. The two chief sources of the poetry of the pre-Conquest period preserved to us are: (1), the Vercelli Book, a manuscript belonging to the library of Vercelli, in Piedmont, discovered there in 1822; (2), the Exeter Book presented to the library of his cathedral by Leofric, the first Bishop of Exeter, under whom the see was transferred to that city from Crediton, of which he was the tenth bishop, in the year 1046.

Legends of saints; verses to Christ, the Virgin, the Trinity; poems on the Nativity, the Ascension, and the Harrowing of Hell; paraphrases of Biblical stories and addresses of the soul to the body, and much strange lore, form the subject-matter of these books. But here it is important to point out the following

facts: up to the eighth century literature flourished almost exclusively in the north of England; in that century, however, the ravages of the Danes seem almost to have destroyed its vitality. The south of England then became the seat of culture, and under King Alfred there was in that part of the country great activity in the cause of learning and literature. Now it must be borne in mind that the dialect of the north of England was different to that of the south, and, but for the happy chance that the old Northumbrian poetry was copied into the southern (*i.e.* the West Saxon) dialect, we should have had hardly anything left of our earliest literature. As all the pre-Conquest literature that has come down to us is (with very little exception), in one dialect, it is a common thing for people to imagine that this one dialect represents the English spoken all over England by the oldest English. This one dialect is commonly called Anglo-Saxon. The truth is really, however, that it was the language of one-third of the people, and owes its pre-eminence to the very scanty remains we have of pre-Conquest literature in the dialects of old Northumbria and Mercia. It is in an Anglo-Saxon dress that we have the Northumbrian poetry of Cædmon, and likewise that of another Northumbrian poet, Cynewulf by name. There were many famous northerners before the eighth century whose names were known far and wide in Europe, but most of these wrote not in English but in Latin, the language of the scholars, or even if they wrote in English occasionally, their writings have not come down to us. Of these first and foremost must be mentioned the "Venerable" Bede, born when Cædmon was still living, who in monastic seclusion at Jarrow was able to give an encyclopædic knowledge of the learning of his time, and to write books on almost all the subjects he had mastered. Again, there was Alcuin, born about the time of Bede's death (735), whose fame induced Charlemagne to secure him for himself for his newly-founded University of Paris. Great as are the names of these great northern Englishmen, greater still is his to whose enthusiasm and love of knowledge the south of England owed everything; for King Alfred, as a man of letters, holds as great a place in English literature as he does as a warrior in English history. According to his own words, on coming to the throne he found learning "so clean fallen away in the Angle race that there were very few on this side Humber who could know how to render their services in English, or so much as translate an epistle out of Latin into English; and I ween that not many would be on the other side Humber. So few of them were these that I cannot think of so much as a single one south of Thames when I took the realm. God Almighty be thanked that we have now many teachers in office." Alfred's first care was to secure teachers, and then to provide the books for his people. He himself translated some of the chief pieces of mediæval Christian literature into Anglo-Saxon. These translations were of Gregory's "Pastoral Care" and "Dialogues," Augustine's "Soliloquies," Boethius's "Comfort of Philosophy," Bede's "Church History," and Orosius's "History." In the last of these Alfred's love of real knowledge is brought into prominence by the insertion of new matter into his translation bearing on the geography of his own time. By all these works this great monarch provided for the intellectual

requirements of his people, and by his skilful manner of translating the Latin originals he first showed the power of which English prose was capable.

Between Alfred and the Conquest much good English prose was written, the best by Aelfric, abbot of the convent of Eynsham, in Oxfordshire, in the year 1005, and Wulfstan, archbishop of York from 1002 to 1023. Most of the work of the prose writers before the Conquest is homiletic and religious, but the translation of a later Greek romance, "Apollonius of Tyre" (whence the story of "Pericles, Prince of Tyre"), and a letter of Alexander to Aristotle, is clear evidence that the new spirit of chivalry and romance was finding its way into English literature.

For a long time after the Norman conquest, the English language was quite in the background as far as literature was concerned. A noble circle of scholars



STONEHENGE. FROM A DRAWING BY A. W. HENLEY.

lived and wrote in England, but they were Normans, and wrote in Latin or Anglo-French. There were theologians, scientists, poets, and historians. Famous among the last were William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose histories in Latin still exist. Before the Conquest the annals had been carefully kept in English, and many MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are preserved. It is interesting to note that where these MSS. contain entries referring to years after the Conquest the language used is generally Latin and not English.

Between the Conquest and the thirteenth century the English language must have led a fitful and uncertain life; but it had vitality, and instead of losing was gaining strength. At the beginning of the thirteenth century it found a voice in literature, and showed it had preserved its characteristics almost untouched by Norman influences. First must be named the "Ormulum," belonging to about

1200 ; the author, Orm or Orminn, a canon regular of the order of St. Augustine, calls the poem after his name :—

“Thiss boc iss nemnedd [i.e. named] Ormulum  
Forethi [because] thatt Orm itt wrohhte.”

The poem, a series of homilies, is remarkable for its regular orthography ; the utter absence of Anglo-French words is peculiarly interesting. The “Ormulum” may be called the earliest piece of Anglian literature after the Conquest, the writer belonging to Lincolnshire, and using therefore the East Midland dialect. The middle of the thirteenth century produced two other pieces written in the same dialect, a Bestiary, and a paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus. It is difficult to know whether to assign priority in date to the “Ormulum,” or to another most important English poem belonging to the West Midland district, viz., Layamon’s Brut. This poem, of 32,250 lines, is a versified chronicle of the legendary history of Britain. It is derived mainly from “a book that a French clerk hight Wace made.” This book of Wace’s was translated from Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Latin “History of the Britons,” which purported in its turn to be a translation from an old Welsh book. In Geoffrey’s history for the first time we have the story of Arthur and his Round Table and all the mythical stories connected with ancient Britain. Layamon’s work is thoroughly English in spirit and language ; his purpose is “to tell the noble deeds of England, what the men were named, whence they came who first had English land.” There can be little doubt that a poem like his must have done much to soften the feeling of the Normans towards the conquered English. Literature developed, too, in the south of England early in the same century ; there, however, its tone was deeply religious. Especially noteworthy is the new element in English literature in the cult of the Virgin Mary. This is seen both in southern prose and lyrical poetry. To the first quarter of the century belong lives of the Saints Margaret, Juliana, and Katherine ; homilies on Holy Maidenhood, The Ancren Rewle, i.e. Rule of the Nuns. All these except the Ancren Rewle are in verse or poetical prose ; but a word must be added on the beauty of the prose of the Ancren Rewle. It has been with but little exaggeration described as “one of the most perfect models of simple, natural, eloquent prose in our language. Curious as betraying the influence of the Latin hymn and the French lyric is the love-song of the Franciscan Thomas de Hales—

“A maid of Christ entreateth me  
A love-song for her to endite,  
That thus she may instructed be  
To choose a lover true aright.”—

which also belongs to the south of the country. Epic poetry awakens from its long slumber about the middle of the century ; stories of popular heroes probably had lived on in the memories of the people, but about this time they were first committed to writing. Chief of these popular sagas are those of King Horn, and Havelok the Dane. Both stories tell of the misfortunes of a prince, of their love-making, and of the difficulties they have to go through before each can gain the throne of which he is rightful heir. There was great activity in the thirteenth

century in the work of rendering into English French and Anglo-French romances. Belonging to this time are the romances of Sir Tristram, Alexander, Richard Cœur de Lion, Arthur and Merlin, Guy of Warwick, and many more mediæval heroes. It is interesting to compare the original romance with its English representative. A great German critic has expressed the fact well, and the frank opinion of a foreigner on this point is of peculiar weight: "The English versions as a rule are poorer, ruder, and of a less complete logical structure: but we are charmed by the joy they manifest in nature, in the green forests, and in hunting, and we contemplate not without satisfaction the rude primeval force that does not exclude deep feeling even if it often indulges in coarseness. Thus the English muse, if less delicate and dainty than her French sister, was less artificial; if more passionate, was less lascivious; and in her enthusiasm for what is grandly colossal, her joy in the actual, she showed, even when repeating foreign romances, many of the features that were to characterise her in the time of her full splendour."

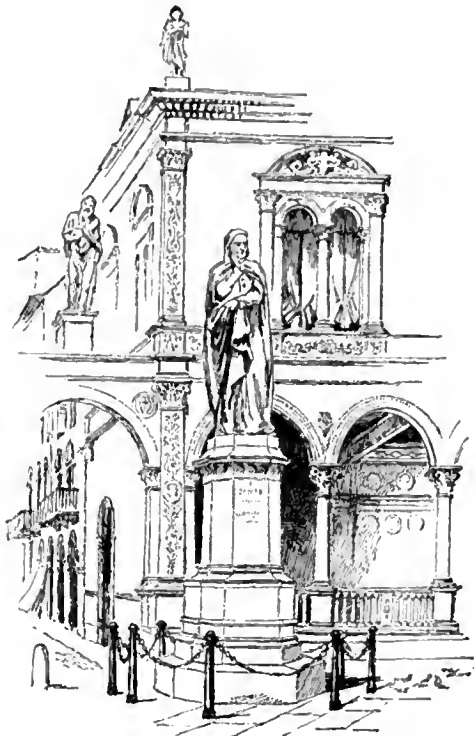
Hitherto we have noted the revival of English literature in the Midland districts and in the south of England. What of the north? The beginning of the fourteenth century shows us again the energy of Northumbria. Like the south, its literature is deeply religious. Its masterpieces are the "Cursor Mundi" (about 1320), a metrical version of Old and New Testament history and legends; and the "Prick of Conscience" (about 1340), a poetical survey of the miseries of earth and the joys of heaven, by Richard Rolle de Hamp, an Augustine monk of the priory of Hampden, near Doncaster. There was a great deal of this sort of literature all over England in the early part of the fourteenth century. It will be enough to name "Handlyng Synne" (*i.e.* "Le Manuel des Pechiez," a manual of sins), by Robert Mannyng, of Brunne, in Lincolnshire. This work is important, for being in a Midland dialect, it is thus allied to modern English; but of this more later on. It would be wrong to suppose that the English of Crecy were men who cared for nothing but this religious literature; they were fond of lyrics and ballad poetry, of songs of love, the seasons, and war; they indulged in satire on the corruption of the Church, and of all sorts and conditions of men and women. We have specimens of these classes of writings extant; and for the wars of Edward III. we have the ballads of a poet called Lawrence Minot, which were written under the immediate influence of the great events of which they tell, *viz.*, Halidon Hill, the taking of Berwick, the siege of Tournay, the siege of Calais, the battle of Neville's Cross, and the like. Of the story-books of the thirteenth century, the romances, I have spoken above; there was activity in this respect in the fourteenth century, but mainly in the west of England, near the Welsh marches. To the west of England we owe some of the best specimens of fourteenth-century poetry: one of these poems called "The Pearl," in which a father bewails the loss of a dear child, is, without any reservation, the most beautiful thing of its kind in our literature. In the west of England, too, arose William Langland, a prophet and poet, in whom the national conscience was to find expression as it never had before. For the nation at large, in 1362, the glories of Crecy and Poitiers



were fast fading away before the terrible scourge—"the foul death of England," as it was called—that had twice in sixteen years visited the country and carried off large masses of the population. Such a time as this was, therefore, singularly fit for the appearance of one who was to raise his voice against the existing corruption in Church and State and among all orders of the realm; as the poet of old, he could point to the adversity of the people as the result of their sin and iniquity, and call them to repentance. Such a one would naturally express the deep truths he felt in some form of allegory, the conventional machinery used by the poets of his day, singularly fit for didactic epic. In the Welsh marches, where the poet was born, the old English spirit lived on longest. It is indeed questionable whether the old alliterative verse, *i.e.* the old Teutonic metre, in which effect is gained by repetition of the same letter in the same line, had ever altogether died out in those parts; possibly in ballads and songs it was preserved among the people generally. Hence Langland wisely chose this form of versification, full of vigour and homeliness, for a poem specially intended to appeal to the masses with whom he had cast his lot and for whom his sympathies were keenest. The vision is the vision of a God-fearing man longing for the higher life; Piers is the type of an ideal honest man, who is able to guide pilgrims in search of truth. From Cædmon onwards the earnestness of the English spirit is reflected in our literature, and Langland's deep-seated thought has been well echoed in the words of the laureate poet of our day:—

"Plowmen, shepherds, have I found, and more than one, and still could find,  
Sons of God, and kings of men, in utter nobleness of mind."

In 1362, when this poem first appeared, another poet was learning among princes and courtiers to fashion daintier verse, having for their theme mirth and jolity. Geoffrey Chaucer, born in 1340, in London, was to be the first of modern English poets. He is great in English literature for three weighty reasons: first, as the earliest important poet who was not a cleric; secondly, as the first English poet to bring into English literature Renaissance ideas; and lastly, as the creator of a national literary language. Before Chaucer, as we have seen, each writer used his own peculiar dialect; after his works appeared, the dialect of



STATUE OF DANTE, VERONA.

London became established as literary English. Before coming to his writings, it may be well to name the chief dates of his life. We find him in 1359 commencing his military career in France; he was taken prisoner, and freed by the peace of Bretigny. We next find him in the service of Edward III. in 1372, being employed on a mission to Pisa and Genoa. On his return he is appointed Comptroller of the Customs; later on he is sent on fresh missions; becomes member of Parliament for Kent; receives fresh sinecures, and dies in comparative want in 1400. Meanwhile, all these years have been productive of literary work. Three great periods may be distinguished in his career. The first stretches to the year of his first Italian journey (1372); during this time he is directly under French influence, and the chief work of these years is the "Book of the Duchess," an elegy on the death of Lady Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster, the first wife of John of Gaunt:—

" And goodē fairē whyt she hightē  
That was my lady namē rightē."

During the second period, from 1372 to 1384, he is under the influence of Italy. When Chaucer first visited Italy, Dante, the great poet of the "Divine Comedy," had been dead half a century, but Petrarch and Boccaccio, the two other glories of Italian literature, were both living. Chaucer probably became acquainted with both these poets, though it was Dante who most influenced him. He mentions him several times as 'the grete poet of Itailē that hightē Daunt.' His influence is seen in the earliest work of this period, the "House of Fame" and the "Assembly of Foules." The influence of Boccaccio is manifest in "Troilus and Creseyde," and in single stories which were used in the great work which occupied Chaucer's third period of activity. An important piece of writing of the second period is the "Legend of Good Women"—

" A glorious legende  
Of goodē wymmen, maydenēs and wyvēs,  
That weren trewe in lovyng all hire lyvēs."

In the third period he is an original poet in the full sense of the term; and to this period belong the famous "Canterbury Tales," modelled after Boccaccio's "Decameron." The original design of this work exceeded enormously its present fragmentary form. The poet in his prologue tells us how twenty-nine persons of all classes meet together at the "Tabard" in Southwark on their way to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury. They agree to journey together, and in order to shorten the way each one of the company is to tell two tales on the way there and two on the way back. On the road a thirtieth joins them, so that in all we should have had one hundred and twenty tales. As it is, however, we have but twenty-four: that is, not even a single tale for each of the pilgrims on the journey to the place. The motley crowd of pilgrims numbers representatives from all the various classes of society in the fourteenth century, and, as a picture of that time, nothing could be more important than this work of the poet. There we meet the mediæval knight, the squire, the yeoman, the nun, the monk, the friar, the merchant, the clerk, the serjeant of law, the franklin, the haberdasher, the carpenter, the webber, the

dyer, the upholsterer, the cook, the shipman, the doctor of physic, the wife of Bath, the parson, the ploughman, the reeve (bailiff), the butler, the summoner (an officer in ecclesiastical courts), the pardoner, the manciple (victualler), and lastly Chaucer himself. There is something peculiarly dramatic in Chaucer's manner of telling his stories, and one cannot help often being struck with much that there is in common between Shakespeare and this first of modern English poets. The difficulty of reading him is as a rule exaggerated; a little honest study will in a short time give one the power to draw the music forth from his lines, and when once this power is gained the possessor must regard himself as enriched with new gifts, for Chaucer cannot fail to charm all who wish to be



THE TABARD.

taught by a teacher to whom life appears bright and gay, and who loves the book of nature only more than the book of knowledge:—

“ And as for me, though I have knowledge slight,  
 In bookes for to read I me delight;  
 And to them give I faith and full credence,  
 And in my heart have them in reverence,  
 So heartily, that there is game none  
 That from my bookes maketh me begone,  
 But it be seldom on the holiday,—  
 Save, certainly, when that the month of May  
 Is come, and that I hear the fowls sing,  
 And see the flowers as they begin to spring,  
 Farewell my book and my devotion.”

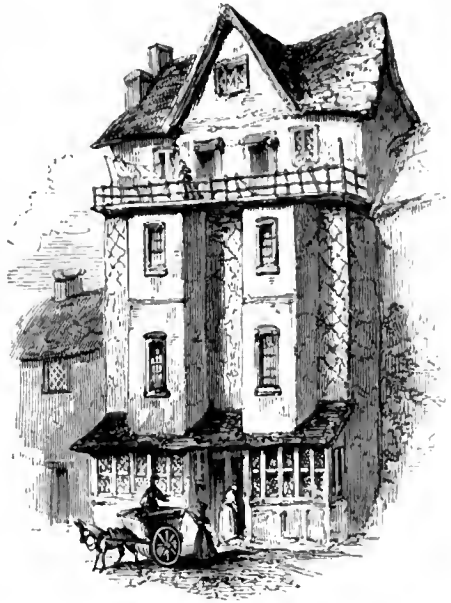
Next to Chaucer it was Wyclif who did most to fix the form of literary English. His work as a reformer belongs to English history, while his place in literature is due to his great instrument of reform, the translation of the Bible into the language of the people. The feeling that the Bible should be made the

property of all Englishmen had long been felt, but it was left to Wyclif to display the energy necessary to give it to the English in their own tongue. Chaucer's place among the courtiers of the day prevented him using his pen against the evils of the age, as did Wyclif; but the poet's friend, John Gower—the "moral" Gower as Chaucer styled him—could act more boldly. He wrote in Latin "*Vox Clamantis*" (the voice of one crying), to point out the faults of society from pope to ploughman. He wrote, too, the "*Confessio Amantis*" in English against the seven deadly sins and the abuse of power. Compared, however, with Chaucer's work, Gower's has little interest for us from an æsthetic point of view. The popularity of the former may be judged by the fact that in the fifteenth century a whole school of poets were under the influence of "*Maister Chaucer, flower of eloquence.*" One of these disciples, Occleve by name, knew the poet personally, and has left us a sketch of his kindly features. But neither he nor John Lydgate, a monk of Bury Abbey, with all their intense admiration for Chaucer, can be said to come anywhere near their master in grace of language and simplicity of style. Of the latter poet especially much work has come down to us, the most important being the "*Falle of Prynces,*" a book which was still popular in the Elizabethan age, and suggested the plan of a well-known work, the "*Myrroure for Magistrates,*" to which the great dramatists went for the plots of many of their plays. An imitator of Lydgate was Stephen Hawes (of Henry VII.'s reign), the writer of a great poem of an allegorical, romantic form called "*The Pastime of Pleasure.*" But it may with truth be said that it was in Scotland more than in England that Chaucer's spirit lived on during the fifteenth century. First among a glorious crowd of northern imitators of the poet came the hapless poet, King James I. of Scotland, whose long captivity in the south made him an intense admirer of the southern poet. His chief poem, in which the influence of his master is most clearly seen, is "*The King's Quair*" (*i.e.* book), wherein he tells the story of his love for Lady Jane Beaufort, afterwards his wife. The sad story of the King's life has been again and again told in modern times, but by none so gracefully as by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, in whose "*King's Tragedy*" much of the old poem has been incorporated:—

"Alas for the woeful thing,  
That a poet true and a friend of man  
In desperate days of bale and ban  
Should needs be born a king."

A circle of Scottish poets, William Dunbar, Gawin Douglas, Henryson, Sir David Lyndsay, were, like the king, under the spell of Chaucer's genius. It is interesting, from this point of view, to compare their work with that of the earlier Scotch poet Barbour. Indeed, but for these poets, nothing could be more anomalous than the "homeliness" of English poetry between the time of Chaucer and "the spacious time of great Elizabeth." The poetry of Barclay, Skelton, Hawes, and Heywood suffers sadly by comparison with the northern poets of the age. Yet these years, from 1450 to 1550, generally unproductive as they were of English poetry, were years of special importance in so far as they mark the period of preparation for the great Elizabethan efflorescence. In the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries there was throughout Europe an awakening, as it were, to consciousness, and all the latent elements of the modern world, as contrasted with the mediæval, were astir. This movement is known as the Renaissance, *i.e.*, the "new birth" of the world. A few words will explain what is meant by the "new birth." During the earlier centuries Europe was passing through a transition state to fit it to receive its heritage of all that was best in the ancient world, especially the literature and art of Greece and Rome. In the Middle Ages a few students were able to read their Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, Horace, and other Latin writers, but they knew nothing of the Greek classics. The revival of classical learning in the fifteenth century, however, made both Latin and Greek literature the common property of the whole reading world. The year 1453 is notable as marking the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, an event which drove many Greeks into Italy, where they spread a knowledge of their language and revealed the beauties of their literature. Italy was the great centre of this "new learning," and from Italy it spread over the rest of Europe and reached also England. But this "new learning" was only one manifestation of the Renaissance movement: about the same time there was the stirring of men's minds on questions of thought, religion, and science. The invention of printing, the discovery of the New World, the Reformation, are all elements in the regeneration of Europe, and all mark the beginning of modern times. As far as literature is concerned, the new learning is of the greatest importance. In Italy the example of classical antiquity quickly resulted in a vernacular literature which itself was soon to be regarded as classic by the rest of Europe. Hence it is necessary to point out the twofold influence of Italy: first, its influence in spreading Latin and Greek knowledge; secondly, the influence of its own vernacular literature. Further, it must be borne in mind that the modern world served, as it were, its literary apprenticeship in translating the classics into the various vernacular languages. In England, before 1580, the chief Latin and Greek writers could be read by Englishmen in their own language, and before the end of the century the great Italians, Tasso and Ariosto, and others, had likewise been rendered into English.

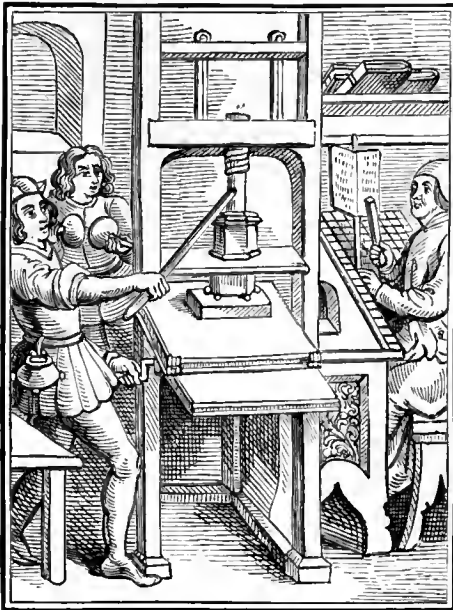


CAXTON'S HOUSE, LITTLE DEAN STREET  
WESTMINSTER.

In the fourteenth century Chaucer had already gained Renaissance ideas from the morning stars of the Renaissance—Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio—and had naturalised these ideas in England. In the sixteenth century we have a second and more complete naturalisation. This is seen whether one turns to the prose

literature of the age, to poetry, or to its chief glory, the drama. The deeper our study of Elizabethan literature, the more confirmed is our belief in its greatness. It was an age of wonder ; on every side there was sudden development, and the shackles which had hitherto impeded the progress of the English mind were cast off. There is a delightful consciousness in all that pertains to the Elizabethan age—a consciousness of new power and new gifts ; its energy is that of a young man rejoicing in his strength, putting forth vigorous activity in every direction. It would have been remarkable if this same energy had not shown itself in literature, which could now appeal to larger numbers than ever before in the history of England, seeing that the establishment of schools over the country during the earlier years of the century—an impulse due to men like Dean Colet and William Lilly—had produced a reading public ; while the introduction of the printing

press (1471) had provided the necessary machinery for the distribution of knowledge.



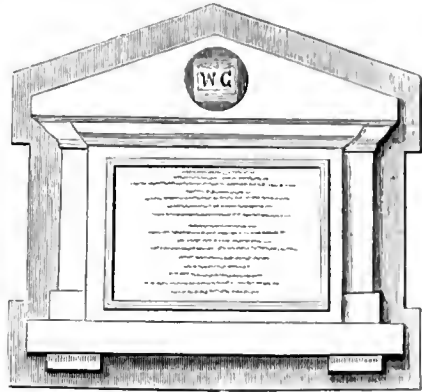
AN ANCIENT PRINTING OFFICE.

Let us first survey the progress of prose literature in the sixteenth century, and watch the varied influences it betrays. But before doing so it would be well to say a word or two of England's debt to William Caxton (1420-1492), the first English printer. His services to English literature were many, but not the least important was the impulse given by him to English prose by his translations from French and Latin. It is noteworthy that before his time there is little English prose of any merit, and what there is is almost wholly of a religious character ; men of learning disdained English and employed Latin as their medium, while recreative litera-

ture was as a rule in poetical form. Wyclif and Sir John Mandeville (the latter the author of a strange book of "Travels," mendacious rather than veracious) are the only names of importance that one can name among prose writers of the fourteenth century. Few names beyond Caxton's and Sir Thomas Malory's (famous for his "History of King Arthur") need be mentioned in the fifteenth century. But it is important not to over-estimate the value of Caxton's English ; the printer did good work as a printer, but his English style is influenced in syntax and construction by the foreign models before him. It is to the band of scholars who were the representatives of the "new learning" at the beginning of the sixteenth century that English prose owes most. Over and above all must be mentioned William Tyndale, of whose translation of the New Testament, published at Antwerp in 1526, it is enough to

say that it is the foundation of the Authorised Version, still cherished by Englishmen as their "well of English undefiled." No book in the whole range of our literature has therefore greater claim to notice in a sketch of English prose. With Tyndale must be named his great opponent, Sir Thomas More (though his best-known book, "Utopia," was originally written in Latin), and his fellow champions of the Reformation cause, Coverdale, Cranmer, and Latimer. The "Sermon on the Ploughers" of the latter might well be read as a typical piece of homely Saxon English, aiming at the truth and expressing it as vigorously as possible. One may, indeed, regard its style as a protest against the Ciceronianism of the "scholar" writers of the day. The literary work of these men of letters belongs to the troublesome time of Henry VIII. and Mary; but to one Roger Ascham it was granted "to carry aloft the lamp of knowledge through all those changing and tempestuous times into the peaceful days of Elizabeth."

The works of this scholar show the predominating influence of classical studies on the English mind during the first half of the sixteenth century; yet it is strange to note that the effect of this influence is to advance the cause of plain and pure English. In his "Toxophilus, or the School of Shooting" (1545), Ascham finds it necessary to defend his use of English. "He that wyll wryte well in any tongue, must folowe thys council of Aristotle, to speake as the common people do, to think as wise men do; and so shoulde every man understande hym, and the judgement of wise men allowe him. Many English writers have not done so, but using strange wordes as Latin, French, and Italian, do make all things darke and harde." His



TOMB OF CAXTON IN ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH, WESTMINSTER.

books are storehouses of delightful information for the social and educational tastes of the times; and the picture of the enthusiasm for classical studies in England drawn in the "Schoolmaster," the most valuable piece of prose of the first twenty years of the reign of Elizabeth, is, or should be, known to every Englishman, chiefly for the touching story of the writer's last visit to the hapless Lady Jane Grey, whom he found in her chamber reading her Plato, while the Duke and Duchess and all the household were hunting in the park. Ascham's prose charms, perhaps, by its very quaintness, but can hardly be placed side by side with that of Sir Thomas North, whose fame rests mainly on his English version of Plutarch's "Lives" (1579), the book used by Shakespeare for the plots of his *Coriolanus*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*. About the same time, however, in which this work of North's appeared, there issued from the English press a piece of prose writing destined to take an important part in English literature, on account of its very artificiality of diction and construction. John Lyly's "Euphues" appeared in 1578, and at once took the upper classes of

English society by storm; it was read and re-read, and was the book of the season. Its popularity was due to the fact that it was the first story-book in the latter part of the century written to supply the great want felt for a new form of recreative literature. The romances of mediæval Europe had lost their charm by this time; the ladies of the court were more especially hungering for some books to take their place. Hence Lyly wrote mainly for the "Gentlewomen of England." "Euphues had rather be shut in a ladye's casket than open in a scholler's studie." Such was the success of the book that Lyly himself wrote a second part, a continuation of the book, and a whole school of writers were in-

fectured with "Euphuism," *i.e.* they wrote an exaggerated and artificial form of English, delighting in twin-phrases, alliteration, similes drawn from classical mythology, and from the fabulous natural history of the Middle Ages.

The name "Euphues" is borrowed from Ascham: "It is the first of the seven plain notes, whereby Ascham, following Plato, would choose a good wit in a child for learning. Euphues is he that is apt, by goodness of wit and applicable by readiness of will, to learning, having all other qualities of the mind and parts of the body, that must another day serve learning." The two parts of "Euphues" may be described as a didactic story threading a series of essays on true love



SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

and education. It has lately been shown that all the important characteristics of Euphuism are to be found in the works of a popular Spanish writer, Don Antonio de Guevara, born at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and so famous throughout Europe that his books were translated into all the chief European languages. The chief novels of the Elizabethan age are all tainted with Euphuistic conceit. It may be well to name one or two of a large number: Greene's "Doraustus and Faunia," whence Shakespeare took episodes for his *Winter's Tale*; Lodge's "Rosalynde," to which we owe *As You Like It*. It is usual to speak of Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia" (written in 1580, but published for



the first time in 1590, four years after his death), as a Euphuistic romance. This is wrong; the style of the book is altogether different from that of "Euphues" in resisting the extravagance and monotony of style characteristic of that work; throughout it has the merit and the defect of blending prose and poetical diction. Milton spoke of it as a "vain and amatorious poem," and without any doubt it is as a "poem" that Sidney himself would have spoken of it, in the sense of its being a work of fiction. In this sense he uses "poem" in his critical essay, "The Apologie of Poesie," written probably in reply to an attack on the English stage by one George Gosson, called "The School of Abuse" (1579), dedicated by the writer to Sir Philip. Sidney's chapter on the drama is interesting as showing how the brightest scholar of the age, the mirror of English chivalry, tested all that had existed then of the English drama by the old rules of the classical writers, little dreaming that the glory of the romantic drama which was then being born was to consist in its freedom from these old fetters. It must, however, be borne in mind, in reading the essay, that when it was written Shakespeare was still at Stratford, unknown to fame, and himself unconscious of his lofty mission. Literary criticism in English literature begins with this book of Sidney's; with it must be mentioned Webb's "Discourse of English Poetry," and Puttenham's "Arte of English Poesie."

It is remarkable to notice the new topics taken up by English prose writers of the Elizabethan age. There is the literature of travel, due to the spirit of enterprise, of which the most important example is Hakluyt's "Principle Navigations and Discoveries of the English Nation" (1589): a great work, containing a mass of material of all kinds. Further must be noticed the advance made in the treatment of national history during the period, leading to such works as Holinshed's "Chronicle," and the historical writings of such men as Camden, Stowe, and Speed; while Raleigh's huge "History of the World" testifies to the philosophic spirit of its author, and marks the progress from national to universal history. The literature of controversy belongs rather to the historian of the times than to the student of literary form; but, indirectly, to the controversies of the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth we owe such a popular work as Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" (1563).

As a general rule controversy is in no wise favourable to the development of style; yet even the numerous tracts produced by the famous Mar-Prelate controversy have interest for the students of English literature, as leading up to the monu-



BACON.

mental work of Richard Hooker, "The Ecclesiastical Polity" (1594), in which the cause of the Church is championed *versus* Puritanism. His work holds high rank in literature, both for its weight, style, and the philosophical spirit which pervades it. But over and above all the prose writers of the age towers the imposing personality of Francis Bacon, the literary representative of the "new thought" character of the Renaissance. The tendency of the new way of thinking was altogether opposed to the barren and useless discussions of mediæval scholasticism, and aimed at a regular and gradual systematisation of known facts. Bacon has, however, a place in English literature almost in spite of himself; for he had no faith in the literary immortality of a writer who chooses the vernacular as his medium, and hence his great philosophical works were written in Latin, or as in the case of the "Advancement of Learning" (1605), first in English and later in a more expanded form in Latin (1623). His earliest work, his "Essays" (1597), is, perhaps deservedly, the best-known work for the majority of Englishmen.



BACON'S MONUMENT.

The history of Elizabethan prose extends to the following reigns, and may be said to close with the Restoration. In this sketch it will be enough to name the chief writers who carried on the traditions of vigorous Elizabethan English style, with all its merits and defects; it will be enough, too, merely to note their more famous and important writings. As the essayists of the period, Sir Thomas Overbury ("Characters," 1614), John Earle ("Microcosmography," 1628), Sir Thomas Browne ("Religio Medici," 1642, "Enquiry into Vulgar Errors," 1646, &c.), Robert Burton ("Anatomy of Melancholy," 1621), stand pre-eminent. Bishop Hall ("Mundus Alter et Idem, 1607), claimed to be the first of English satirists. Quaint

and witty Thomas Fuller (1608-1661), did famous work as biographer, essayist, and historian in his "Worthies of England," "Holy and Profane State," and "Church History of Britain." Soaring above the many elements of controversy of the time, Jeremy Taylor gave the world his "The Great Exemplar" and "Holy Living and Holy Dying" (1649), while Richard Baxter's "Saint's Everlasting Rest" (1648), and Izaak Walton's "Compleat Angler" (1653), have maintained their popularity to our own time. The greatest name of the pre-Restoration prose writers is that of John Milton (1608-1674), whose prose style, like that of all these before named, is pre-eminently the prose style of an age of poetry. From this latter point of view the purer style of the materialistic philosopher Hobbes (his "Leviathan," 1651), may be regarded as marking the border-line dividing the Elizabethan from the writers of the Restoration.

In this sketch it is to be noted how the earlier prose writers of the sixteenth century are under the influence of the revival of classical learning and of the

romantic artificial style of modern literature. From these combined influences emerges the characteristic English prose style, which by universal consensus of opinion we regard as the high-water mark of literary expression. To express this fact, it may be as well to instance the varied style of such books as Ascham's "Schoolmaster" and Lyly's "Euphues," contrasted and placed over against the noblest monument of English, the Authorised Version of the Bible of 1611. If we turn now to watch the growth of Elizabethan poetry we shall find the influence of Italy making itself felt in every department. Puttenham in his "Arte of English Poesie" (1589) dwells in an interesting way on the first signs of Italian influence in the sixteenth century. He tells us how in the latter part of Henry VIII.'s reign "there sprung up a new company of courtly makers, of whom Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, and Henry, Earl of Surrey, were the two chieftains, who having travelled in Italy and there tasted the sweet and stately measure and style of the Italian poesy, as novices newly crept out of the schools of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesy from what it had been before, and for that cause may justly be said the first reformers of our English metre and style." Their service to English literature was threefold: to them we owe the naturalisation of the sonnet in England, the introduction of blank verse, and refinement of poetic diction. This is clearly seen in "Tottel's Miscellany," a collection of poetry written by Surrey and Wyatt, and other poets, some years before, but first



MILTON AT THE AGE OF NINETEEN.



DRAYTON.

published in 1557. This collection of miscellaneous poetry gave an impulse to such collections; of these the best known, and worthily so, are R. Edwardes' "Paradise of Daintie Devices" (1576), Clement Robinson's "Handfull of Pleasant Delights" (1578), J. Bodenham's "England's Helicon" (1600). Love is the one theme of these Elizabethan poets—the idealised love of the great southern writers, from Petrarch onwards, that had such charms for Chaucer and his followers. Englishmen, more than ever before, in Elizabethan times, were under the spell of Italy, and poured

forth their love passions in the conventional Italian way. Hence such works as Watson's "Passionate Centurie of Love" (1582)—a hundred sonnets, connected

together by the one theme of love; Constable's "Diana," or praises of his mistress, in certain sweet sonnets (1592); Daniel's "Delia" (1592); and, far more important than any of these, Sir Philip Sidney's "Astrophel and Stella" (1591), a series of love sonnets second only to the "sugared sonnets" of William Shakespeare, with their story of love and friendship, of which it is a fruitless task to seek the key. Love epics, showing the Renaissance movement in all its strength, are the twin poems "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece," side by side with which must be placed Marlowe's fragmentary "Hero and Leander," finished later by Chapman the dramatist and translator of Homer. But nowhere does the poetical exuberance of the age find fuller and truer expression than in the purely lyrical poetry, of which so much has come down to us, and of which much is only now being fitly edited and given to the world. The songs scattered throughout Shakespeare's plays are merely typical lyrics of the age, though of course they show the lyrical form in perfec-

tion. In Elizabethan times songs and ballads flooded the country, and were the delight of the masses. One may well apply to the England of that day Caliban's description of Prospero's magic isle—

"This isle is full of noises,  
Sounds and sweet airs that give delight,  
and hurt not."



SPENSER.

The names of Campion, Dowland, Constable, Dyer, Lord Brooke, Watson, and others, with all the greater lights of the age, crowd on one's mind when one attempts to speak of the songsters of the last quarter of the sixteenth century. They sang of all that was noblest and best in man's nature, not

merely of love passions and the like, but also of the sentiments of patriotism and religion. Patriotism, indeed, found expression in English literature as it had never found before. The bursts of enthusiasm for England so often to be found in the dramatists are evidence of this. National history therefore gained new charms and inspired the poets of the age. To this pride in England must be referred the chronicle drama, which put before the people its whole history from the legendary days of Cymbeline and Lear, down to the events of their own times. To this, too, we owe the stories of the fall of "English" princes in the "Mirror for Magistrates" (1559), and the poetical histories of William Warner ("Albion's England," 1586), Samuel Daniel ("Civil Wars," 1595), and Michael Drayton ("Barons' Wars," 1596; "Polyolbion," a poetical geography of England (1613).

To come now to the Elizabethan poet *par excellence*, Edmund Spenser: for such one may style him without any reserve, seeing that Shakespeare is the universal poet of all time, wearing merely, as it were, the livery of his age, while

Spenser reflects in his work the peculiar elements characteristic of the epoch which marks the meeting-point of the ancient, mediæval, and modern world. By his first work, "The Shepheards Calendar" (1579), published when he was twenty-seven years of age, he showed Englishmen that a new poet was amongst them, greater than any since Chaucer. But if nothing more than this had followed, posterity would probably have lost sight of the young poet who told his love troubles and formulated his ideas on Church reform in twelve eclogues written in artificial archaic English. Spenser's immortality as the poet of the "Faërie Queene" is, however, assured. The purpose of the work was "to represent all the moral virtues, assigning to every virtue a knight to be the patron and defender of the same, in whose actions and feats of arms and chivalry the operations of that virtue whereof he is the protector are to be expressed, and the vice and unruly appetites that oppose themselves against the same to be beaten down and overcome." This plan was to be carried out in twelve books, each having for its theme a moral virtue represented by a knight; the sum of all goodness, Magnificence, being personified in Arthur, who was eventually to be joined to Gloriana, the Faërie Queene, the ideal representative of the Virgin Queen herself. Spenser's poem is, however, a huge fragment, telling the adventures of six only of the twelve knights; a



ANOTHER PORTRAIT OF EDMUND SPENSER.

fragment consisting of a series of pieces, each perfect and complete in itself. The "Faërie Queene" has always been the delight of Englishmen, and must be regarded as peculiarly "the poet's poem," as many of great name on the bead-roll of English poets gained their first inspiration from its pages. What is there in the poem that makes it so full of charm? Undoubtedly the beauty of its pictures and the music of its verse are such as to reach the *ne plus ultra* of poetical expression. He who would dream away some hours in the fairyland of romance, and listen to its magic music, has but to open his "Faërie Queene" at hazard, and he is at once transplanted to the scenes of delight. But there is more than this in the poem: he who would think deeply, and who would find a teacher, need but turn to the same book and read. Spenser's purpose was to teach the noblest lessons of life, showing

them forth in loveliness of perfect deeds. He who would lead a high-minded life



PHILIP MASSINGER.

and scorn the petty and mean may find his life's course mapped out for him in this delightful land of fantasy. Such a chivalry as Spenser's is not the fantastic chivalry of mediævalism, but that of all time:—

“What virtue is so fitting for a knight,  
Or for a lady whom a knight should love,  
As courtesy; to bear themselves aright  
To all of each degree as doth behove.  
For whether they be placed high above  
Or low beneath, yet ought they well to know  
Their good; that none them rightly  
may reprove  
Of rudeness for not yielding what they  
have:  
Great good it is such duties lively to  
bestow.”

Much has been written on the moral purpose of the poem, some critics finding its utilitarianism cumbersome, others seeing in it one of its great glories. Professor Dowden, in perhaps the best essay ever written on Spenser as a “teacher,” has said well: “What if Spenser brought armour for the soul, and because it was precious and of finest temper made it fair to look on? That which gleams as bright as the waters of a sunlit lake is perhaps the breastplate to protect the heart, that which appears pliant as the blades of summer grass may prove at our need to be a sword of steel.” It is indeed wonderful to note how Spenser transfuses into moral allegory, so thoroughly mediæval in its machinery, the real spirit of the new and great age in which he lived, using his enchanter's wand to harmonise the diverse elements of past and present. The poem was begun probably as early as 1579, in the house of his friend Sir Philip Sidney, and continued in Ireland, whither the



GEORGE CHAPMAN, TRAGIC POET.

poet had gone in 1580 as secretary to Lord Grey. The facts of his life between 1580 and 1590 are few, the latter year ushering into undying popularity the first three books of his great poem. Six years later, books four, five, and six were first given to the world. Two years after, the Irish rebellion brought with it trouble and misfortune; his castle was burnt and with it one of his children, and he with his family fled to London, soon to die there in distress. They buried him near his great master, Geoffrey Chaucer, in Westminster Abbey, early in 1599. His literary activity had been very great. Space will not permit more than the naming of some of his other work. In 1591 a volume of minor poems appeared, containing "The Ruins of Time," "The Tears of the Muses," "Virgil's Gnat," "Mother Hubbard's Tale." In 1595 his "Amoretti," or love sonnets, and the Epithalamium on his own marriage, and "Colin Clout's come Home again" (an account of his visit to England in 1591), were given to the world. A prose tract on the "Present State of Ireland" may still be read with interest and advantage. The history of Elizabethan prose showed us the varied influences of the old classics on the one hand and of the Italian writers on the other, productive ultimately of the characteristic vigorous style of the period. The history of Elizabethan poetry reveals the same truth. It begins with the Italianised poetry of Surrey and Wyatt, full of promise, but itself immature and uncertain. Side by side with these and their followers, there were the pedantic classical scholars like Gabriel Harvey, Webbe, and others, who strove to subject English poetry to Latin metres.

From these varied elements arises the perfected poetry of the end of the reign, which finds its consummation in the verse of Spenser and Shakespeare.

With the death of Elizabeth the fair flower of English poetry began to fade. The personality of the Queen more than anything else had inspired the poets of her reign: one and all they were impressed by her greatness, and saw in her womanhood the personification of all they longed for. Even while Shakespeare was still alive, signs of the decay of English poetry show themselves. This is especially seen in the pedantic conceits of the school of poets of whom Donne is the head, who aimed at the fantastic clothing of ideas in far-fetched imagery baffling ordinary folk, their chief dread being lest they should express themselves in a straightforward manner. In the lyrics of the age the transition from Elizabethan poetry to that of the Restoration is less clearly seen; but it may be said of the Elizabethans that "they sang because they must," of the lyrists of the first



WILLIAM DRUMMOND.

half of the seventeenth century, "because they would." There is something laboured, though the labour often results in most dainty work, in the songs of Carew, Suckling, Crawshaw, and even in those of Herrick, the best singer of the group of pre-Restoration poets.

One set of poets kept alive the spirit of Elizabethan poetry, placing themselves under the influence of Spenser. Of these the pastoral poet Browne ("Britannia's Pastoral," 1616), the religious poet Giles Fletcher ("Christ's Victory and Triumph in Heaven and Earth over and after Death," 1610), his brother Phineas Fletcher ("The Purple Island," an allegory on man's mind and body, 1633), and the Platonist Henry More ("Platonical Song of the Soul," 1642), deserve special mention.

Poetry before the Restoration took wider range than ever before, and gave expression to all the deep religious questions then stirring men's minds. It was



SAMUEL DANIEL.

as though the literature of the "new learning" was to be followed by the literature of the "new faith." In George Herbert ("The Temple," 1631), Henry Vaughan, Francis Quarles, Crawshaw, Wither and Habington, the religious sentiment is dominant; they lead the way to usher in the crown and glory of their age, John Milton. His great work, the "Paradise Lost," belongs to the post-Restoration period as far as chronology is concerned; in tone and power it is essentially Elizabethan. Milton and Dryden were for many years contemporaries; the former, the last representative of the

poets of the age of poetry; the latter, "the high-priest of an age of prose and reason." More than this, however, Milton stands before us as the ideal Puritan, the high-priest of holiness ministering to a licentious generation, and in a measure atoning for its iniquity. With the Restoration, English poetry became subjected to France; gaining much in straightforwardness of expression, but losing its best charm, the simplehearted naturalness and purity it had known in the days of Sidney, Spenser, and Shakespeare.

The whole history of the Elizabethan age is a history of the various modes in which the characteristic vigour of the age manifested itself. This is clear when one inquires into the history of the great explorers, warriors, and scientists of that age. And not of these alone: of exactly the same stuff were made the masses of Englishmen that freed their country from the dangers of a foreign yoke. In the drama especially we see the energy of the age. The earlier cramped form of dramatic composition could not content a people giving vent to its Titanic activity



in every direction. There was bound to arise a poet who would do for the drama what the great worthies of the age were doing for the advance of science. Christopher Marlowe (1504-1593) was this typical outcome of the age, in every characteristic its representative. The first thirty years of the reign, the period before his appearance, may be described as the time of formation of the drama. During these years three classes of playwrights coexisted; of these, one linked itself to the earlier English drama, a second followed classical (Latin and Italian) models, a third tried to effect a compromise between the other two. The maturity of the drama was reached when the compromise sought after by this class was effected by Marlowe about 1588. From the Conquest right on to the middle of the sixteenth century, miracle plays (*i.e.* plays derived from sacred history or the lives of the saints), moral plays consisting of allegorical characters, and short farces, called interludes, were almost the sole dramatic compositions in our literature.

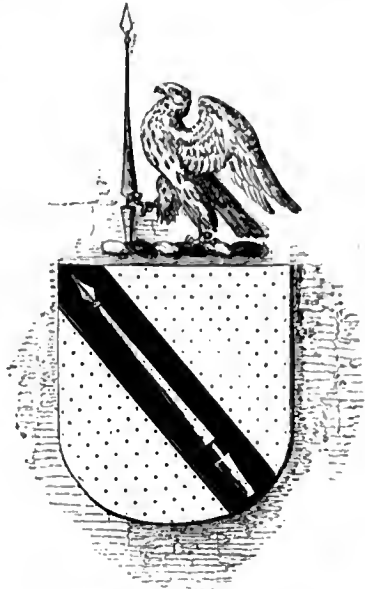
Religious plays were even written during the first twenty years of Elizabeth's reign, and were performed during the whole century; but in the face of the living interest in classical antiquity their popularity soon became lessened. The influence of the Renaissance on the choice of classical models was of most importance in its effects on the dramas. The first regular English comedy, *Ralph Roister Doister* (1551 or earlier), was based on a play of the Latin comedian Plautus; the first English tragedy, *Gorbodue* (1592), on the Latin tragedian

Seneca. The acting of plays as an academic exercise was a regular institution in England from the first quarter of the sixteenth century. They were as a general rule in Latin; occasionally, however, English was allowed. To this concession we owe both these plays, the former of which was intended for performance at Eton, the latter at the Inner Temple. Of the plays produced between 1558 and 1586 comparatively few were printed. It is questionable whether any of the plays written solely for the masses are extant; those sent to press were the work rather of amateurs in dramatic art than of professional playwrights. We know,



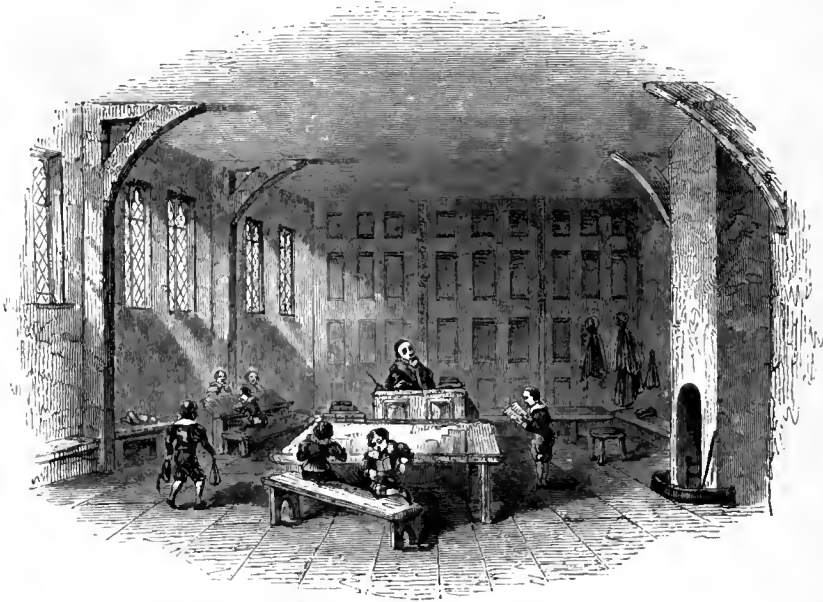
SHAKESPEARE.

however, from contemporary criticism (*e.g.* Gossen, "School of Abuse," 1579), that the ordinary plays of the period found their material in the Italian novels of the time.



ARMS OF JOHN SHAKESPEARE.

For the most part there was no art in most of the plays intended for the people, but during this period we have the rise of what is called the "romantic drama." Its purpose was to bridge the gap which divided the artless playhouse drama from the artificial classical drama of the *Gorboduc* type; from the former it borrowed the blending of comedy and tragedy, realism and rhyming verse, from the latter diction, dramatic construction, and method of arrangement of plot. The state of the drama during these years may be gathered not merely from contemporary criticism but also from facts connected with the external history of the theatre, for in 1572 the first royal license to play was given to the Earl of Leicester's servants, and in 1576 the first regular theatres were established, "The Theatre," "The Curtain" and "The Blackfriar." Some ten years after this latter date a play appeared which marked an epoch in the history of the English drama, Marlowe's



INTERIOR OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL, STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

*Tamburlaine*. Its definite purpose to improve the drama was clearly set forth in its prologue. To it is due the introduction of blank verse on the popular stage. Before Marlowe's play its use was restricted to plays intended for select audiences. The basis of the drama may be described as the idealisation of gigantic passion on a gigantic scale. This is true also of his *Faustus* and *Jew of Malta*. In *Tamburlaine*, for the first time, a story was put on the stage without the aid of epic chorus or of dumb-show. Greene, Peele, Lodge, and Nash, like Marlowe, were university playwrights, in sympathy with and writing for the popular stage. The appearance of *Tamburlaine* marked a crisis in the literary life of each; they were forced to take the play as a model as regards versification at least, or abandon play-writing. Of the group whom contemporary writers linked together, Greene is most important, as holding the same relation to romantic comedy as Marlowe

does to tragedy and history, for to this dramatist is due the first English play of merit that deals with English history viz., *Edward II.*\* The type of the national drama being thus fixed by Marlowe and his circle, was brought to perfection by Shakespeare. The earlier plays of this poet reveal the varied influences through which he had to pass before finding the dramatic form best suited to his genius. The chief facts of his early life may be told in few words. He was born in April, 1564, at Stratford-on-Avon. It is to be noted that Warwickshire, the county of the poet's birth, is situated in the centre of England, where the Celtic and Teutonic elements of the nation were most commingled. Of his boyhood we know very little; family misfortune deprived him of long continuance

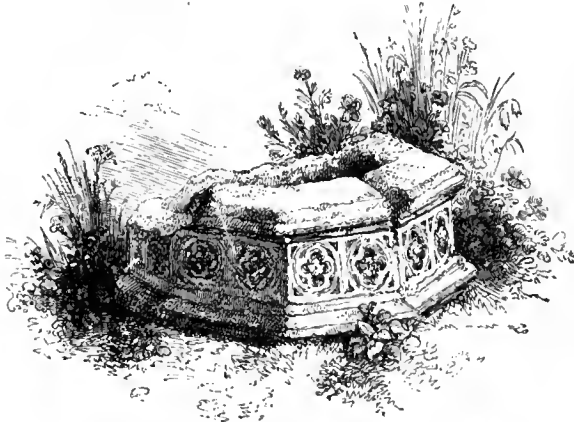


THE CHURCH, STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

at school; early in life, in 1582, he married Anna Hathaway, eight years his senior; about 1587 he leaves for London and becomes connected with the theatre. As early as 1592 we have proofs of his pre-eminence as a player and dramatist, in an attack made against him by the poet Greene. We have also in the same year proofs of his worth as a man. In 1593 he dedicates to the Earl of Southampton his "Venus and Adonis," in 1594 his "Lucrece." By 1594 he had probably already written his first experiments in original dramatic composition. It would seem that these consisted in a series of "love-plays," comedies in which love adventure forms a central feature. Such plays as *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Comedy of Errors*, *The*

\* Standing outside the group was the court dramatist *par excellence*, Lyly, the first to show the brilliancy of which prose dialogue was capable.

*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Midsummer Night's Dream* must be regarded as the earliest original work of the poet. Plays like *Titus Andronicus* and the three parts of *Henry VI.* stand as anomalies outside this real work. His early history plays reveal the influence of Marlowe, *Richard III.* being modelled on a play of the *Tamburlaine* type, *Richard II.* being due to the former dramatist's *Edward II.* *King John*, a recast of an old play on the same subject, still shows us the poet learning his art. It is learnt by the time he wrote his *Henry IV.* (parts 1 and 2) (1597-8) and *Henry V.* (1599), in which history and comedy are blended together indissolubly, as are tragedy and comedy in the comedy written about the same time, viz., *The Merchant of Venice*. Shakespeare's earliest tragedy, *Romeo and Juliet* (1593-1596), treats of the same theme as his early comedies—romantic love. The Marlowian tragedy seems to have had no attractions for him; indeed, it is remarkable that the poet was nearly forty years of age before his second tragedy, *Hamlet* (1602), was written. Between the production of these two trage-



ANCIENT FONT, FORMERLY IN STRATFORD CHURCH.

gies, comedy engaged for the most part the poet's attention, but it is noticeable how the comedies written during the interval grow in intensity and earnestness. Hence the contrast between the "rough and boisterous" *Taming of the Shrew* and *Merry Wives* (? 1598), the "refined" *Much Ado* (1598), *As You Like It* (1599) and *Twelfth Night* (1600-1601), and "the serious, dark, ironical" *All's Well*, (? 1601-1602), *Measure for Measure* (1603); and *Troilus and Cressida*, leading up to the great tragedy of introspection, the metaphysical *Hamlet* (1602); *Julius Caesar* must be dated about the same year, *Othello* (1604), *Lear* (1605), *Macbeth* (1606), *Antony and Cleopatra* (1607), *Coriolanus* (1608), *Timon* (1607-1608) following year by year, yielding to the calmer, happier romances with which his literary life closed—*Pericles* (1608), *Cymbeline* (1609), *Tempest* (1610), *Winter's Tale* (1610-11), the latter group written probably in his Warwickshire home, whither he had retired from the noise of London and its theatres. Unlike the wild actors and playwrights of his time, Shakespeare had all along been thinking of an old age spent in peace and ease at Stratford, amid scenes of rural life. For five or six years his wish was granted him; he died April 23rd, 1616.

All praise of the poet must be faint, all criticism impertinent; the myriad-minded poet has a secured place as the greatest teacher the modern world has produced. Our worship of the poet begins early in life: the stories of his heroes and heroines hold us spell-bound in childhood, the intensity of his expression and

thought excite our wonder in youth, in manhood we attempt to fathom the depth of his wisdom. The longer our study, the more fixed grows our conviction in Shakespeare's genius. As to his contemporaries, so to us and to posterity he must remain "The miracle of Stratford."

The decline of the drama is to be seen even during Shakespeare's lifetime. It will be enough to indicate the chief causes of this decline without dwelling on all the great dramatists illustrative of it. Two great causes may be adduced. In the first place there was the peculiar character of the genius of the poet who succeeded Shakespeare as chief dramatist of his time, Ben Jonson. He was a man of great power and endowed with strong fancy, but his peculiarity consisted in his substituting in his plays, for real characters, men and women dominated by some "humour," *i.e.* particular bias of mind. Further, he attempted to blend the old classical drama and the Elizabethan, and thus produced a sort of hybrid combination. In tragedy he failed altogether; in comedy he was able to found a school of dramatists who looked up to him as their master. His best plays are his *Every Man in His Humour*, *Every Man out of His Humour*, *Volpone the Fox*, *The Alchemist*; his most delightful piece of work is his pastoral play, *The Sad Shepherd*. But the potent cause of its decline was the antagonism of the Puritans towards the drama, which showed itself as early as 1563 and continued on to the days of Shakespeare, and even during the period of his activity, though, as might be expected, it could then do little harm. It was justified and did effect much, however, later on, when the licentiousness of the dramatists Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger and Ford, and many more, made the stage a school of vice. All these dramatists were men of true Elizabethan fibre; all had, as it were, a spark of Shakespeare in their souls, but they revelled in scenes of sensuality and false passion. Hence the best section of the people ceased to visit the theatres, the feud between Puritan and dramatist waxed fiercer and fiercer, until in 1642 the theatres were forcibly closed. When the drama awoke again, it entered on a new career of licentiousness unredeemed by the flashes of genius so often to be found in the last of the Elizabethans, of whom the dramatists mentioned, together with Webster, Marston, Chapman, Middleton, Tourneur, and Shirley are the best known.

For English prose, poetry, and drama alike a new era begins with the Restoration, France becoming for Englishmen of the days of Dryden and Pope what Italy had been for the Elizabethans.

A word in conclusion. In this brief sketch the attempt has been made to show the development of English literature from the days of its beginnings to the end of the great age of Elizabeth. In matters of evolution the period of origins is of most importance; hence it was necessary that in such a sketch as this special stress should be laid on the neglected portions of English literature belonging to the time before and immediately after Chaucer. If, however, the reader would wish not so much a literary history, as a guide to lead him to the great kingly treasures of Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton, it is hoped he will find some help in these pages.



## CHAPTER II.

### CHARLES II.



THE Convention Parliament by which Charles II. had been restored was not a true parliament, because it had not been summoned by the King. The proper course would have been to have dissolved it immediately after the Restoration and to summon a new Parliament in the usual manner. It was, however, thought more convenient to pass an Act declaring that the Parliament then sitting was regular in form and of full powers. Charles II. had in his declaration from Brecha promised an Act of indemnity and a full pardon. This, however, was held not to include those who had taken part in the execution of Charles I. After some discussion, fifty-three regicides were excepted from pardon as to life and estate. Seven others were excepted as regarding liberty and property, and all judges who had presided in any high court of justice were declared incapable of holding any office in the State, Church, or Army. In pursuance of this Act, twenty-nine regicides were tried by a special commission and all of them were condemned. Ten were executed, and the rest, who had surrendered in obedience to a royal proclamation, were respited until the meeting of the next Parliament. Vengeance did not content itself with the living. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were dug up from their graves, drawn on hurdles to Tyburn, and hung at the three corners of the gallows on the anniversary of the death of Charles I. In the evening they were cut down, their heads were chopped off and placed in front of Westminster Hall. Even the body of the heroic Blake was removed from Westminster Abbey and buried in St. Margaret's Churchyard. At a later period, Vane and Lambert were brought to trial. Vane was executed on June 14th, 1662, although Charles had solemnly promised the Parliament to spare his life. Lambert was banished.

The next question was the restoration of the lands formerly held by the Crown and other nobles, and the re-institution of the church. The law-courts declared that those who held these lands had no title to them, because it was derived from a usurped authority, although many of the lands had since changed hands by purchase. This did not assist the Royalists who had parted with portions of their

lands in order to help the King in his time of need. Thus it happened that those persons were most hardly treated who most deserved sympathy.

During the Commonwealth Episcopal ministers had been deprived of their livings, which were now held by Puritans and Independents. As the majority in the Convention Parliament was Presbyterian, it would have been hopeless to turn them out and to restore Episcopal ministers to their places. A compromise was therefore made by which, although the Episcopal ministers should be restored, the revenues were left in the hands of their present holders. Attempts were made by Bishop Usher and the King to set up a form of church government which was half-way between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy, and to place dis-



AUDLEY END, THE RESIDENCE OF CHARLES II.

tinguished Presbyterians in high offices of the Church. Nothing, however, was definitely determined upon when the Convention Parliament was dissolved.

Another important matter was the settlement of the royal revenue. It was desired to place the King in such a position of independence that he need not have recourse to those doubtful practices to which Charles I. was obliged to have recourse. The King's revenue was therefore fixed at £1,200,000, together with the grant of tonnage and poundage for life. At the same time the military tenures and the knights' service, which were an oppressive burden on the landowners, were abolished, together with the custom of purveyance, which compelled rich men to supply the King with lodgings and provisions during the royal progresses. A permanent excise duty on many articles of consumption was also

imposed, and thus the King was rendered almost independent of Parliament for his ordinary expenditure.

A question remained, What should be done with the army? The troops of the Commonwealth were now disbanded. Fifty thousand soldiers were cast upon the world, but so excellent had been their discipline and training that they easily made their way in all honourable occupations. Some exceptions were made. Monk's regiment, called the Coldstreams, were kept together; and so were two regiments of horse. This was the nucleus of our present standing army, which in 1662 numbered five thousand men. On December 29th, 1660, the Convention Parliament was dissolved.

The new Parliament met in May, 1661. It was strongly royalist. The House of Commons was more zealous for royalty than the King, and more attached to episcopacy than the bishops. It was difficult for Charles and his minister, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, to restrain their supporters within due limits.



RUINS OF KENILWORTH, TIME OF CHARLES II.

We now see for the first time the institution of a Cabinet; that is, a small council which privately deliberated on important affairs of state, and then brought them before the Privy Council, who were the constitutional advisers of the sovereign. The Parliament soon showed its violent temper. It voted that the Solemn League and Covenant, and that the chief acts of the Commonwealth, should be burnt by the common hangman; that all the members should receive the sacrament on a certain day; that all the royal prerogatives, the command of the army, and the veto on legislation, should be restored. They replaced the bishops in their seats in the House of Lords, and they imposed severe restrictions upon the right of petition. They went even further than this. The government of the towns was mainly in the hands of Presbyterians. The Corporation Act, passed in December, 1661, compelled all persons bearing offices of trust in corporations to swear that they thought it unlawful under any circumstances to take arms against the King, to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, and to receive the sacrament according to the rites

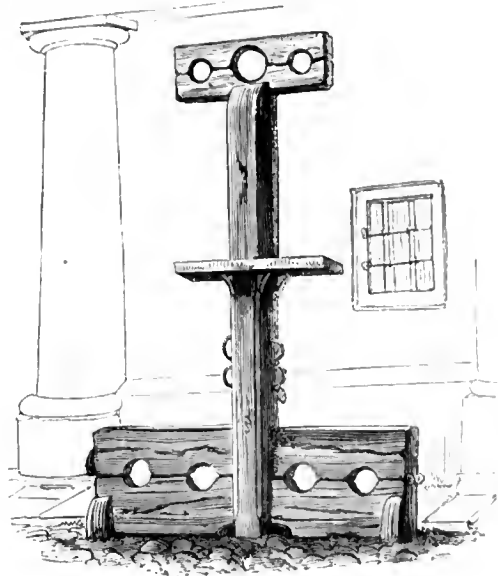


of the Church of England. A still further attack was made upon the Presbyterians by the Act of Uniformity. A conference was held at the Palace of the Savoy in March, 1662, with the object of drawing up a prayer-book which should be acceptable to all parties in the Church. This, however, was found impossible; the conference broke up in anger. A new prayer-book was issued, which only differed from the old by having a more royalist complexion. On May 10th, 1662, the Act of Uniformity was passed, which provided that all beneficed clergy were to use the new prayer-book, and to declare their unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained and prescribed in it, under pain of being deprived of their livings. It further provided that all officiating clergymen must have received episcopal ordination, and it imposed on the beneficed clergy and others renunciation of the Covenant and a declaration of non-resistance. The time of subscription expired on St. Bartholomew's day, August 24th, 1662. On that fatal date more than two thousand clergy were deprived of their livings without any provision for their future support.

There is little doubt that on his succession King Charles II., if not actually a Roman Catholic, was a Catholic in heart. He would have done, if he had dared, what his brother lost his crown by doing—make England Catholic if possible, and if not, secure complete toleration for the Catholics. With this view he published what is called a Declaration of Indulgence, which applied to all those who were not members of the Church of England,

under the pretext of granting relief to the Nonconformists. He did his best to protect the Catholics in the exercise of their religion. The declaration was accompanied by a promise that he would suspend the Act of Uniformity, or permanently alter its provisions. This, however, was opposed by the bishops, and when Parliament met in February, 1663, they repudiated the Declaration of Indulgence, and declared that the King had no power to suspend or dispense with the laws. The port of Dunkirk, which was the only remaining possession of England on the Continent, had been sold to France in November. These measures made Clarendon unpopular and paved the way for his fall.

In the following year, 1664, the Triennial Act, which had been passed in 1641, to secure that the Parliaments should not last more than three years, nor should be intermitted for more than three years, was repealed at a special request of the King. At the same time an Act of great severity was passed against the

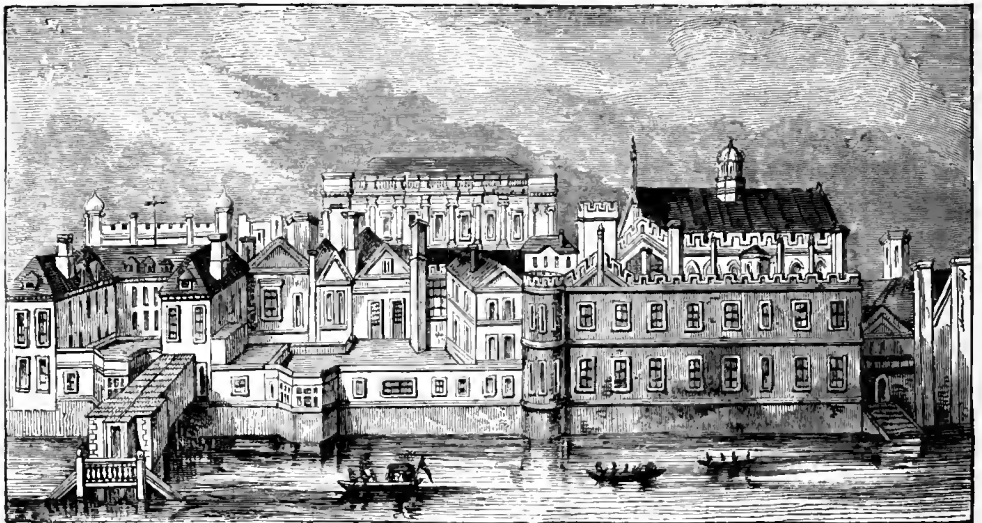


PILLORY, STOCKS, ETC., AT WALLINGFORD.

Nonconformists. The Puritan ministers, who had been ejected from their livings, were in the habit of holding small meetings for their own form of worship. This Act forbade any assemblage of more than four persons, besides the family, for any other form of worship except that of the Church of England, under the punishment of a heavy fine or imprisonment. The Quakers suffered more than any other sect under this law, and it continued to be for many years an engine of persecution.

The restoration of monarchy was carried out at the same time in Scotland and Ireland. The Marquis of Argyle was executed in revenge for the death of Montrose, episcopacy was re-established, Presbyterians were ejected from their livings, the country was garrisoned by a standing army of twenty-two thousand men, and the Covenanters were exposed to a severe persecution.

In February, 1665, war was declared against the Dutch. The cause of this



WHITEHALL, TIME OF CHARLES II.

was commercial rivalry between the two nations. A great naval action was fought on June 3rd, off Lowestoft, in which the English were victorious. But this defeat was avenged in the following year, when Monk and Prince Rupert were entirely routed in the Downs by De Witt and De Ruyter after a hard struggle for several days. In 1667 the Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames and the Medway, and burned the ships of war which were lying at Chatham. It was reported that on that very day the King was feasting with the ladies of his court, and was amusing himself by hunting a moth about the supper room. London itself began to feel the pressure of a blockade, the roar of foreign guns was heard for the first and last time by the citizens of London; the ministers became unpopular, and peace was concluded at Breda on July 29th, 1667, on terms which were very humiliating to England.

War was not the only disaster with which the country was afflicted at this

time. The plague, which had not been unknown in the reign of Charles I., broke out in May, 1665, with the utmost violence. It was a disease terrible both in its symptoms and its effects. The sufferer was seized with shivering, sickness, and headache, the fatal spots appeared upon the body, and death did not linger long. In July and August the deaths rose from one thousand to seven thousand five hundred a week. In the week ending September 19th, more than ten thousand persons died. London was deserted by its inhabitants; the nobility and the court set the example to the rest of the population, but the neighbouring towns feared infection and would not receive them. It was difficult to find nurses or doctors to take care of the sick, or men to bury the dead. The door of every house infected with disease was marked with a red cross, with the words "Lord have mercy upon us." Those living in it were shut up for a month and cut off from

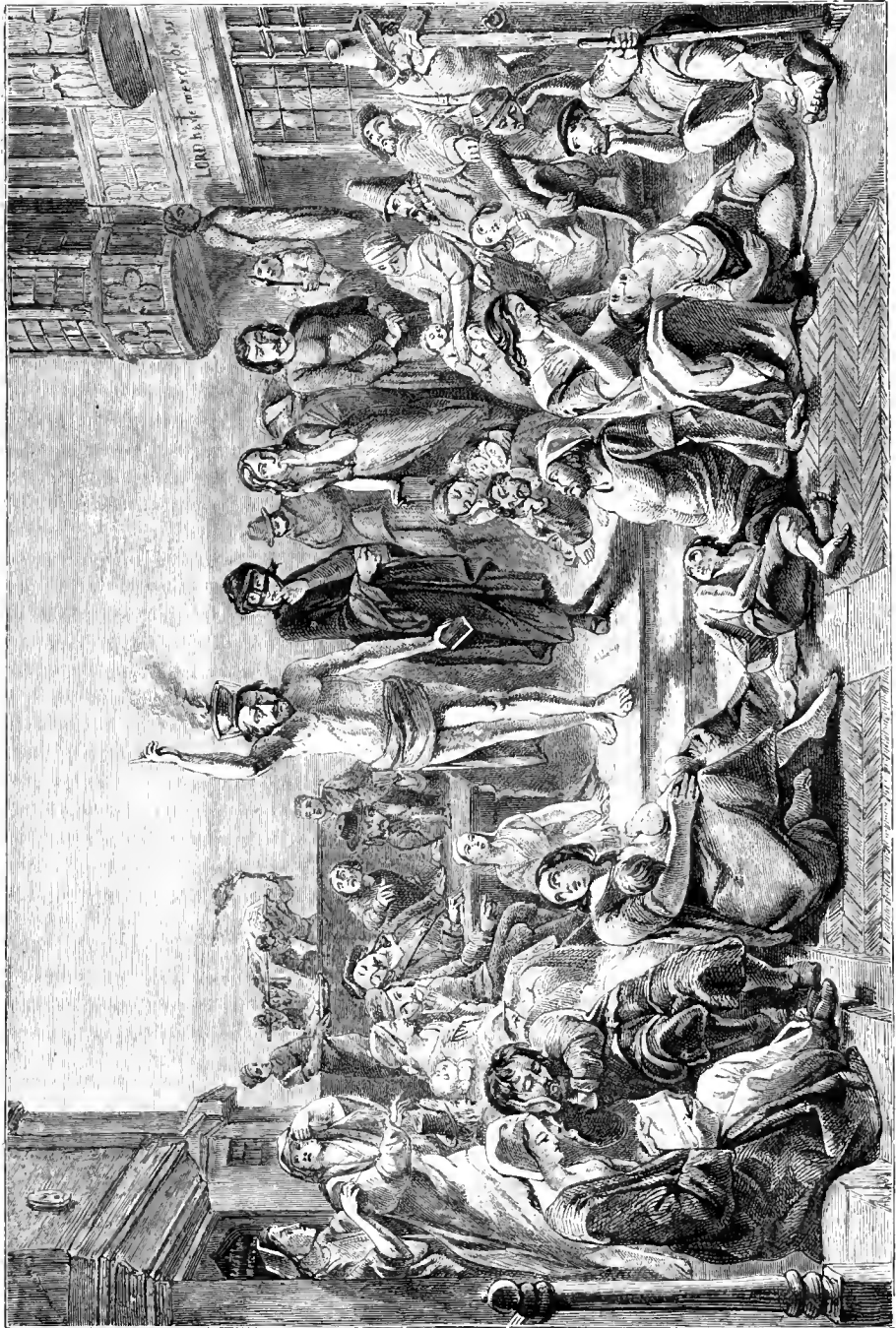


PEST-HOUSE IN TOTHILLS FIELDS, WESTMINSTER.

intercourse with the outside world. Every night the pest-cart went round; the naked bodies of the dead, and sometimes those of the dying, were thrown into it, and were all emptied into a common pit. Late in the autumn the disease abated, and the court returned to Whitehall in February, 1666. Parliament, which met at Oxford on account of the plague, showed that its heart was not softened by the pervading calamity. It passed what is known as the Five Mile Act, which prohibited all Nonconformist ministers from coming within five miles of a town.

As 1665 was marked by the plague, so the following year was made remarkable by the great fire of London. It began on Sunday, September 2nd, in Pudding Lane, near Fish Street. It burnt for three days and three nights, and was at last extinguished by the blowing up of houses. Charles and his brother showed no little courage in their efforts to stop the flames, but they were not put out until eighty-nine churches and thirteen thousand two hundred houses had been destroyed.

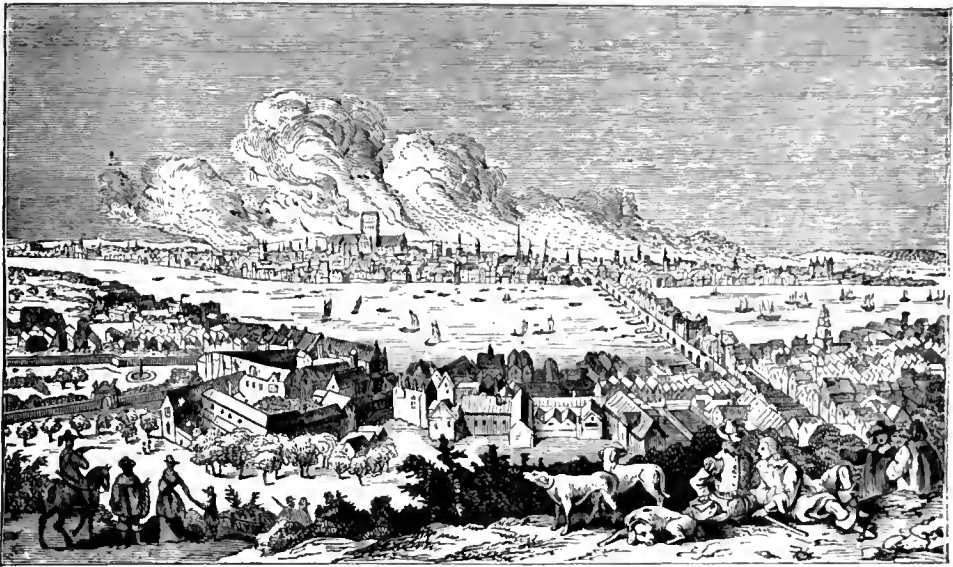
It laid the whole city in ruins from the Tower to the Temple, and from the Thames to Smithfield.



THE GREAT PLAGUE: SOLOMON EAGLE EXHORTING THE PEOPLE TO REPENTANCE.

It may be imagined that after these disasters the Parliament which met in September, 1666, was in no pleasant frame of mind. After attempting to punish

the Roman Catholics, whom they supposed were the cause of the fire, they turned their attention to supply. They enacted that the grant then voted should be spent only upon the war for which it was demanded. This established the principle of the appropriation of the taxes by Parliament. Clarendon opposed this measure as an encroachment upon the royal prerogative. All parties now turned upon him as the cause of the disasters of the country. He was hated by the gay and dissolute court for his stern morality, he was disliked both by the Presbyterians and the Papists. The people regarded him as the main cause of the war; they broke his windows, they cut down the trees of his garden, and set up a gibbet before his door. In Parliament he had scarcely any friends. All these conflicting parties combined together for his ruin. The great seal was taken from him, the Commons impeached him, he fled from the country in order to save his



LONDON DURING THE GREAT FIRE, SEEN FROM SOUTHWARK.

life, and an Act was then passed which doomed him to perpetual exile. He resided in France for the next seven years of his life, and wrote his "History of the Great Rebellion" under the sunny skies of Montpellier. Clarendon was succeeded by a ministry which has become notorious in the history of England under the name of the "Cabal." It is generally supposed that this word was formed out of the initial letters of those who composed the ministry—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale; but it is more probable that it is merely synonymous with the word cabinet. They governed England for seven years, and during that time they did their best to sell their country to France, to restore popery, and to establish the arbitrary government of the King. At the same time their first measure was popular and patriotic. France was at the time governed by Louis XIV., who with all his genius was consumed by insatiable ambition. We shall see at a later period how all the resources of England were put forth to

check his overweening ambition, as at a later period they were used to thwart the designs of Napoleon I. Louis was now at war with Spain, and there was a danger lest the Spanish Netherlands should be conquered, and even Holland should fall under the yoke of the oppressor. At the suggestion of Sir William Temple, who was minister at Brussels, an alliance was formed between England, Holland, and Sweden, for the purpose of checking the progress of France. This coalition was known as the Triple Alliance. The immediate result of it was that the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was made between France and Spain, in May, 1668, by which the Spanish Netherlands were saved from conquest. The House of Commons loudly applauded this treaty, and some said that it was the only good thing that had been done since the King came in.

Unfortunately, the views of Charles himself were very different. He cared



THE GREAT FIRE : BURNING OF NEWGATE.

nothing for the independence, the safety, or the dignity of the nation. His chief want was money, that he might be independent of the Parliament which scrutinised his pleasures, and might have a standing army which he could employ as he pleased. The best means of effecting this was to make himself a paid vassal of France. Two years after the conclusion of the Triple Alliance a secret treaty was signed at Dover. The principal agent between the English and French courts was Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, sister to Charles, and wife of Louis's brother. The terms of the treaty, so far as they were known, were as follows: Charles was to assist Louis in a war against the Dutch. For this he was to receive £300,000 and have the help of thirty French ships. If Holland was conquered, the province of Zealand was to be reserved for England. There was also a secret article, only known to Clifford and Arlington, that Charles should have a pension of £200,000 a year on condition of declaring himself a Roman Catholic. The prin-

incipal object that Louis had in consenting to this arrangement was that he might obtain the assistance of England in his designs on Spain. The King of Spain was a sickly child; his eldest sister was Queen of France. With the help of England, the House of Bourbon might some day add to its large possessions another vast empire upon which the sun never sets.

The Treaty of Dover soon began to produce its effects. In 1672 the Duke of York was publicly received into the Roman Catholic Church. Shortly after this a Declaration of Indulgence was proclaimed, which repealed all Acts against Non-conformists and Catholics. Parliament had voted £800,000 for the use of the fleet, but this was not enough for the purpose. Ashley and Clifford borrowed a large sum of money from the goldsmiths on the security of the taxes. It was suddenly announced that the Government did not intend to pay the principal, and the lenders must content themselves with the interest. War was declared against Holland in conjunction with France. The English engaged the Dutch at sea and the French on land. The battle of Southwold Bay was indecisive, but the invasion of Holland by the French was a terrible disaster. De Witt, who was supposed to favour the French, was torn in pieces before the gates of the palace. The spirit of the young Stadtholder, William Henry, was not broken. He held a firm countenance towards the foe. He advised that the country should be buried beneath the waves of the ocean, and that the Dutch should seek a new home and the security of liberty in the islands of the Indian Archipelago. Assistance was given to him when he scarcely dared to expect it. Austria and Spain sprang to arms; through every part of Germany troops poured towards the Rhine. The English Government had spent all the money which it had so unjustly acquired, and in the spring of 1673 it was necessary to summon Parliament. Their first act was to annul the Declaration of Indulgence, which they declared to be contrary to the law. They then passed a Test Act, which continued in force until the reign of George IV. It provided that all persons holding any office, civil or military, should take the oath of supremacy, should sign the declaration against transubstantiation, and should receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. The consequence of this was that the Duke of York had to resign his post of Lord High Admiral; Clifford also was forced to surrender his office. The Cabal ministry was driven from power, and the King was compelled to make peace with Parliament.

The next five years were occupied by the administration of Sir Thomas Osborne, a Yorkshire baronet, who now received the title of the Earl of Danby.



THE MONUMENT.  
(WREN'S FIRST DESIGN.)

His object was to secure the possession of all political power to the party of the Cavaliers. At the same time he was more patriotic than the Cabal ministry in his anxiety for the reputation of England. His own feelings would have led him to join the coalition against the French. Yet he allowed the King to dispense with the attendance of Parliament for fifteen months in return for the receipt of a new pension from Louis. It was, however, impossible to stifle the

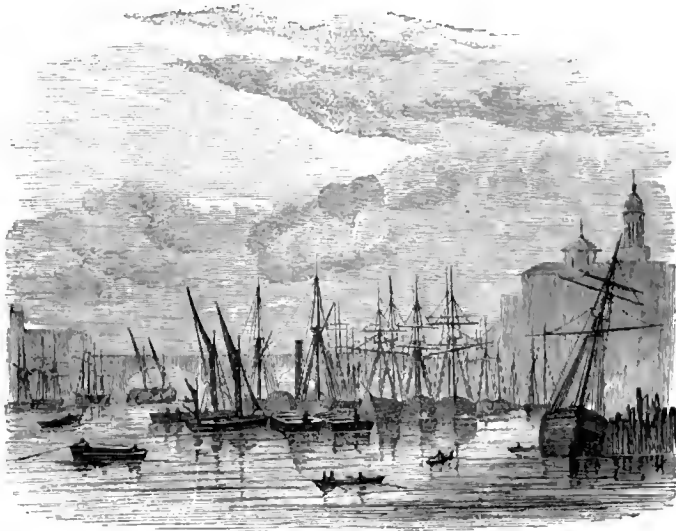


MILTON COMPOSING. DIED IN 1674.

free voice of public opinion. An attempt to shut up the coffee-houses, in which political discussion was carried on, ignominiously failed; and when Parliament met in February, 1677, it was in no humour to be played with. When Shaftesbury, Buckingham, and others expressed a doubt as to whether the prorogation of Parliament after so long a period had not put an end to its existence, they were sent to the Tower by the House of Lords, and Shaftesbury remained there for a considerable



time. They then demanded the dismissal of the standing army as an instrument of despotism; and although they voted supplies for the use of the navy, they ordered the money to be paid into the hands of their own receivers. The state of foreign affairs was very complicated. There was war between France and Holland, and there was a danger lest the home of liberty and freedom of thought should be crushed by the despot who was the enemy to both. Parliament was eager for a war with France, and voted money and troops. Louis, in order to prevent an alliance between the English and the Dutch, bribed the Opposition in order that they might oppose the preparations for war. Charles, however, was always ready to sell himself to the highest bidder. At the very moment when he seemed to stand forth as the representative of the national feeling, he made a secret treaty with Louis, by which he bound himself, on the receipt of 6,000,000 francs, to dissolve Parliament, disband the army, and to desert the Dutch. This treaty was



THAMES SHIPPING.

written by the hand of Danby, and was endorsed, in the writing of the King, "This letter was writ by my order, C.R." Louis refused to complete the arrangement, and shortly afterwards, by the Treaty of Nimeguen, a general peace was made between the belligerent parties. It was very favourable to France and fatal to Spain. At this time the country was much excited by the report of a popish plot. It was said that the pope had trusted the government of England to Jesuits, who had appointed Roman Catholics to all the highest offices in church and state; that there was a plan on foot for setting fire to all the shipping in the Thames, that all Protestants were to be massacred, and that a French army was to land in Ireland. Special provisions were said to have been made for the murder of the King. The author of these wild statements was Titus Oates, an English clergyman of bad character, who had been compelled to give up his living, and who had since led an infamous and vagrant life. He had become a Roman

Catholic and obtained admission into the Jesuits' College at St. Omer. Oates first revealed the secret of the plot to Danby and the King. He then made an affidavit of the truth of his statements before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who was a zealous Protestant. Some papers were produced, the vague language of which might seem to support the truth of Oates's charge; but the popular mind was driven wild by a very strange occurrence. Godfrey disappeared, and his corpse was found in a dry ditch on Primrose Hill, pierced by his own sword. The excitement in London knew no bounds; every one carried a weapon of some sort to defend himself against the papists; the prisons were full of popish suspects. Even Parliament did not keep its head; although the statements of Oates were inconsistent and incredible, the Commons solemnly declared their belief in the plot, and the Lords passed a second Test Act, which deprived Catholic peers of their



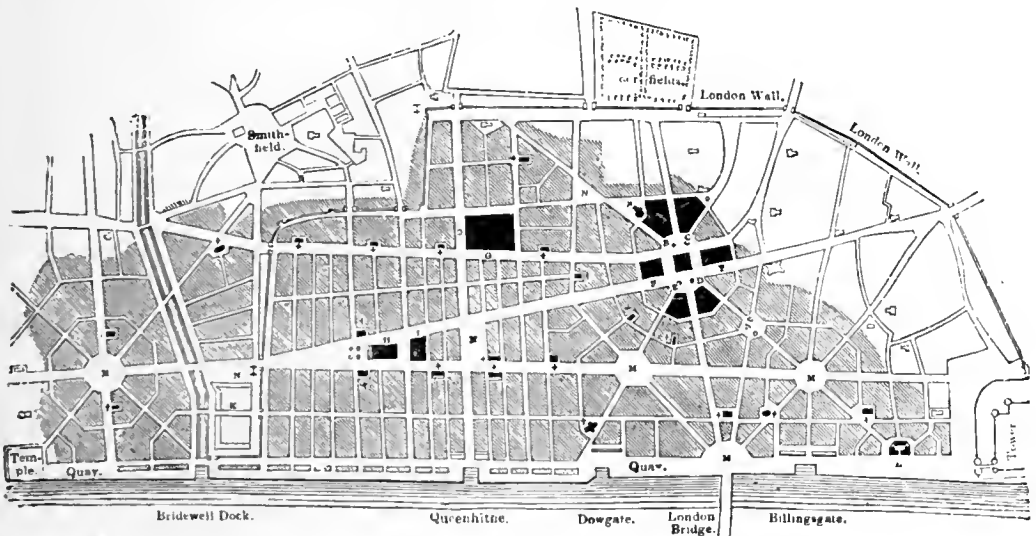
PRIMROSE HILL, WHERE SIR EDMUNDLURY GODFREY WAS MURDERED.

seats, as the previous Test Act had excluded Catholics from the Lower House. A number of supposed conspirators were brought to trial, convicted on very scanty evidence, and executed. No one dared to say a word in their favour. Titus Oates walked about attended by guards. He dressed himself like a bishop, had apartments in Whitehall, and a pension of twelve hundred a year.

Just at this time the base intrigues of Charles with the Court of France were discovered. Louis no longer cared to keep them secret, and informed Montague, who was ambassador in Paris, of what had taken place. Danby had no time to destroy his papers; the secret offers to Louis, written in his own hand, were revealed to the House, who on the impulse of the moment voted that Danby should be impeached of high treason. The charges brought against him did not indeed amount to treason, and the Lords refused to accept them. The King, in order

to release himself from embarrassment, first prorogued the Parliament, and then dissolved it on January 24th, 1679. It was hoped that a new Parliament might, with the assistance of bribes, be secured in a better temper. This was the end of the second Long Parliament of England, which, meeting in a fervour of loyalty in 1651, had now sat for eighteen years.

The new Parliament was elected under circumstances of the greatest excitement. The court and the country party strained every nerve to procure the return of their adherents. The country party obtained a complete victory. The impeachment of Danby was immediately resumed. It was at first doubted whether an impeachment begun in one Parliament could be continued in another, but it was decided that this made no difference. Danby pleaded in his excuse a pardon which the King had given him, but the Commons decided that no royal



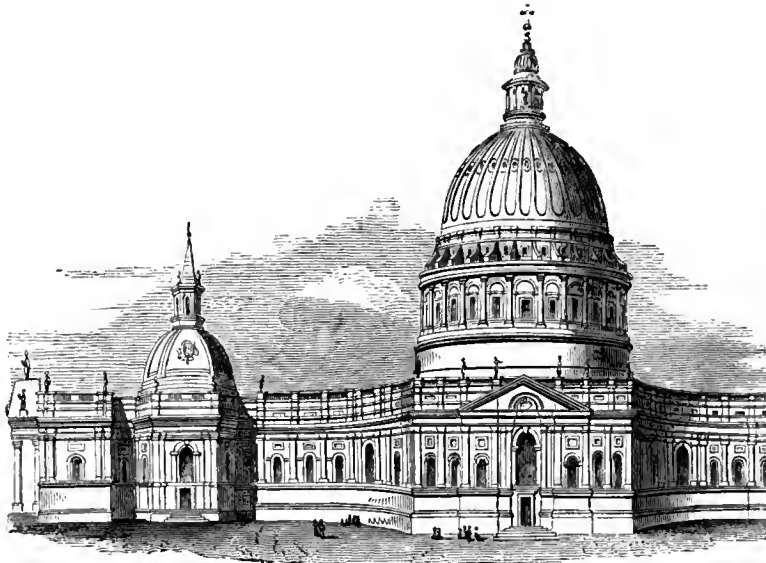
WHEN'S PLAN FOR REBUILDING THE CITY. (THE SHADED PART SHOWS THE EXTENT OF THE FIRE.)

- |                        |                      |                     |                          |
|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| A. The Royal Exchange. | E. Insurance Office. | I. Doctors Commons. | N. Market.               |
| B. Post Office.        | F. Goldsmiths'.      | K. Wood Market.     | † Churches.              |
| C. Excise Office.      | G. Guildhall.        | L. Custom House.    | ‡ Continuation of London |
| D. Mint.               | H. St. Paul's.       | M. Piazzas.         | Wall.                    |

pardon could be of any validity in that case. The impeachment was dropped on the prorogation of Parliament, and therefore the constitutional question was never formally decided. It has, however, been always held since, that no general or special pardon previously given can stand in the way of an impeachment. At the same time, the royal prerogative of mercy after judgment has not been questioned.

After Danby's fall an attempt was made to remedy the evils caused by too much power being given to a small cabinet or cabal. At the same time it was felt that the Privy Council was too large a body to be entrusted with important secrets of State. Sir William Temple proposed something between the two. He wished to establish a new council composed of thirty members, fifteen of whom were to be the chief ministers of state, of law, and of religion. The other fifteen

were to be unplaced noblemen and gentlemen of ample fortune and high character. All the thirty were to be entrusted with every political secret and summoned to every meeting, and the King was to declare that he would on every occasion be guided by their advice. The plan proved an entire failure: it was too large for an administrative body, too small for popular representation. The King did not act loyally with it. Temple was soon forced to infringe the rule he had laid down, and become a member of a small cabinet. With him were joined Lord Essex, Lord Halifax, and Lord Sunderland. Essex belonged to the country party, but was anxious to reconcile it with the party of the Crown. Halifax was a man of great ability, and was proud of the title of "Trimmer," which was given to him by his enemies. Sunderland was an adroit intriguer of low political morality. Shaftesbury was leader of the Opposition. In May, 1679, the Commons passed the



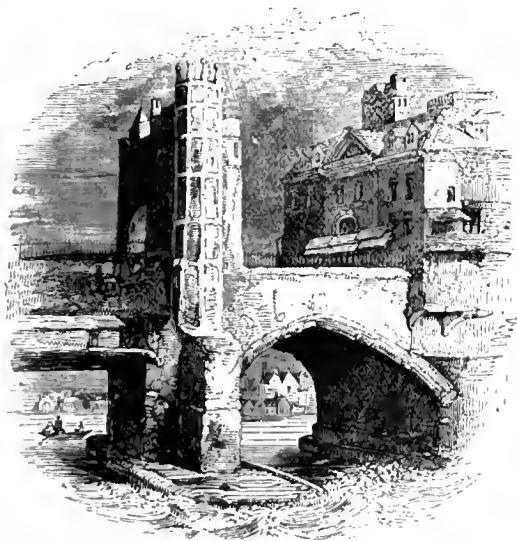
WREN'S FIRST DESIGN FOR ST. PAUL'S.

Exclusion Bill, the object of which was to exclude James, Duke of York, the King's brother, from the throne on the ground of his being a Roman Catholic, and to secure the succession to Protestant members of the royal family only. Before, however, this bill could reach the House of Lords Parliament was dissolved. At the same time the royal assent was given to the Habeas Corpus Act, which, with the Great Charter, is always regarded as a bulwark of English liberty. It did not introduce any new principle, but it guaranteed freedom from arbitrary imprisonment by a clear and certain enactment. It provided that on a request in writing being made by or for a prisoner, any of the judges should order the prisoner to be brought up before them in order that it might be seen whether he was committed on due warrant. History and experience make us familiar with the excesses of arbitrary imprisonment practised in other countries. In France, Austria, Spain, Italy, and Russia, a man can, or could be till within a short time ago, imprisoned

at a moment's notice, no one knows where, for what reason, or for how long. The Habeas Corpus Act has made the principle of personal liberty so much our second nature that we are tempted to forget the benefits we derive from it. It has also served as a model for the imitation of other nations.

The fourth Parliament of Charles II. was elected in October, 1679, but it was prorogued seven times, and did not meet until October, 1680. This interval was a time of bitter controversy. The question of the Exclusion Bill took possession of the public mind; all the presses and pulpits of the kingdom shared in the conflict. It was urged on one side that James derived his right to the crown from God, and that nothing could deprive him of it. It was held on the other that it would be fatal to the kingdom if a popish monarch should come to the throne. Every county, every town, every family was in agitation; even schoolboys were divided between the parties of Lord Shaftesbury and the Duke of York. Numerous petitions were sent to the King urging him to call a Parliament. Counter-petitions were sent by those who professed to abhor the Exclusion Bill; thus the two parties became known as Petitioners and Abhorrrers, names which were soon changed into the more familiar titles of Whig and Tory. Tory was a name given to popish outlaws who wandered about the bogs of Ireland. The Scottish Covenanters and their supporters had for some time been known as Whigamores, or Whigs. The names were now appropriately conferred on those who supported the Catholic Duke of York on one side, or the Presbyterians on the other.

The favourite candidate of the Exclusionists was the Duke of Monmouth, son of Charles II. by Lucy Walters. While Charles was at the Hague he was treated as illegitimate, but after the restoration he was lodged at Whitehall with all the splendour due to a prince of the blood. When the Duke of York became unpopular, a rumour spread abroad that Charles had been legally married to Lucy Walters, and that the proofs of the marriage were enclosed in a little black box. Although Charles solemnly denied this statement, it was believed by the populace. When Monmouth arrived in London at midnight, the people left their beds, bonfires were lighted, the windows were illuminated, the churches were opened, and the bells rang a merry peal in all the steeples. Monmouth bore on his scutcheon the royal arms of England and France without the bar sinister, which was the sign of illegitimacy; he even went so far as to touch for the king's evil. As soon as



ARCH, OLD LONDON BRIDGE.

Parliament met the Exclusion Bill was quickly passed through all its stages by the Commons. In the House of Lords it was opposed by Halifax in a series of brilliant speeches, and being resisted by all the bishops, was rejected by a large majority. The Whigs retaliated by impeaching some of the prisoners who were still confined in the Tower on account of the Popish plot. The most notable of these was the aged Lord Stafford. He was tried, found guilty of high treason, and executed, although a large minority were in favour of his acquittal. He was happily the last victim of the infamous Titus Oates.

The struggle now became so severe that there was imminent danger of a civil war. The King sent a message to Parliament that he would never consent to the Exclusion Bill. The Commons refused to grant supplies. They became more and



TEMPLE BAR.

more violent; they requested the King to remove Halifax and others from his councils and presence for ever. They resolved that no member should accept any office under the Crown, that any man who lent money to the King should be punished, and that those who advised the prorogation were traitors to their country and pensioners of France. In the midst of this disorder the Black Rod summoned the members to the House of Lords, the Parliament was prorogued for ten days, and shortly afterwards dissolved.

At the same time a new Parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford in March, 1681. It was thought that the scenes which happened at Westminster in the reign of Charles I. might be repeated under his son, whereas at Oxford there was no such danger. The University was devoted to the Crown, and the gentry of the neigh-

bourhood were generally Tories. On the day of meeting the Whig members were escorted by large numbers of their armed and mounted tenants, who exchanged looks of defiance with the royal guards. The four city members were followed by thousands of the citizens, all armed and wearing ribbons on their heads with the menacing device "No Slavery, no Popery." The Commons again introduced the Exclusion Bill. Charles suggested a compromise—that the Duke of York should be banished from the country for life, that he should bear the title of King on the death of the reigning monarch, but that the powers of government should be exercised by a regent, who should in the first place be the Princess of Orange and next to her the Princess Anne. The proposition was not received with favour. The Exclusion Bill was ordered to be read a second time on March 28th. The Parliament was suddenly dissolved the same day, after it had sat for a single week. This was the last Parliament in the reign of Charles II.; for the next four years he governed without one.

A few days later the King published a declaration of the causes that induced



OXFORD, WHERE PARLIAMENT MET IN MARCH, 1681.

him to dissolve the two last Parliaments. He spoke of their interference in affairs beyond their province, of attacking distinguished individuals on mere suspicion, of their refusal to accept any compromise with the Crown. This declaration was read in all the churches, and, curiously enough, produced a good effect. Addresses of sympathy poured in from all quarters of the kingdom. The King's manifesto did not, however, remain without an answer. Sydney and Somers published what they called "a just and modest vindication of the proceedings of the two last Parliaments." It did not, however, produce much effect; the tide of popularity had turned, and now ran in favour of the court. Charles was not bound to convoke a Parliament till three years should have elapsed. He was not much distressed for money, he could therefore turn the law against his adversaries with impunity. The witnesses who had recently sworn away the lives of papists were now to be used to swear away the lives of Whigs. The first to feel the effects of this policy were—Lord Howard; College, who was surnamed, from his zeal, the Protestant Joiner; Rouse, who had marshalled and led the mob in their march from Wapping; and Shaftesbury, the leader of the Opposition. When College was convicted of

having planned an attack upon the King's guards at Oxford, the crowd received the verdict with a roar of exultation. Even in the trial of Shaftesbury the conduct of



VIEW FROM ARUNDEL HOUSE.

the spectators was so violent that the witnesses feared for their lives, and the judges did not feel in safety on the bench. But on this occasion the public sentiment was against the court. The grand jury of London ignored the bill. The hall shook with applause, and the day was closed with the ringing of bells and the kindling of bonfires. The King determined to make

matters safer another time by the election of sheriffs who should be devoted to him. The two sheriffs of London had been, from time immemorial, appointed, one by the Lord Mayor and the other by the livery. It had been the custom for the Lord Mayor on a certain day to drink out of a golden cup and to send the cup to some citizen who would as a matter of course become a sheriff on the Midsummer Day following. In this year, 1682, Sir John Moore, at the recommendation of the King, sent the cup to Dudley North, a brother of the Chief Justice. When Midsummer Day arrived there was a great uproar, which ended in North and one of the court party being appointed sheriffs. The same party also succeeded in procuring a Lord Mayor of their opinions. Shaftesbury, knowing that he had no chance of acquittal, fled to Holland, accompanied by his faithful friend, the philosopher John Locke. He died an exile on January 22nd, 1683. In the meantime the Duke of York had been doing his best to reduce Scotland to obedience. His first exploit was the torture and execution of the Cameronians, a small body of Presbyterians who had been defeated in 1680. He presided at the operation with cold-blooded indifference. He summoned a Parliament in Edinburgh in 1681, which first declared that the



THE SAVOY.

He summoned a Parliament in Edinburgh in 1681, which first declared that the



succession to the Crown could not be altered, and then imposed a test which renounced the Covenant and inculcated passive obedience. All those who signed it were bound to the Protestant faith. It was proposed that princes of the blood should be exempted from the test. Argyll signed the test himself, with a reservation. This proved to be a trap, for as soon as he had signed he was arrested on the charge of high treason, tried, and condemned to death. However, by the assistance of his daughter, he contrived to escape to Holland.

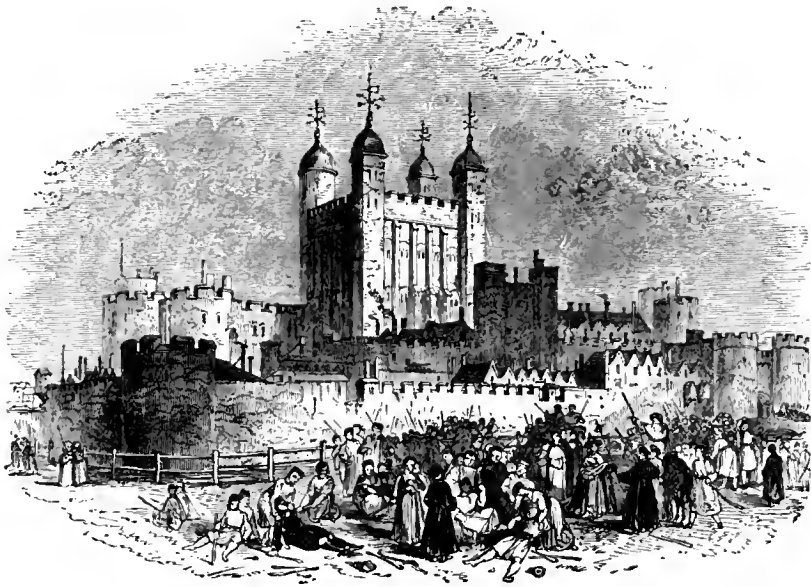
The next step of the court was to destroy the municipal liberties of English towns, which had hitherto been strongholds of Protestantism and liberty. It was



EYE HOUSE.

suggested that if a judgment could be obtained against the Corporation of London the rest of England might be intimidated. The process was to bring actions against the corporations upon a slight pretence, and then to punish them by the forfeiture of their charters. In the case of London, the city was allowed to continue the exercise of its functions, but the judgment was held over it in terror lest it should offend again. Inspired by this great victory, the Government proceeded to attack the constitutions of other corporations which were governed by Whig officers and which had been in the habit of returning Whig members to Parliament. Borough after borough was compelled to surrender its privileges, and new charters were granted which gave the ascendancy everywhere to the Tories.

These measures naturally incited the Whigs to secret conspiracy. It was proposed that there should be simultaneous risings in different parts of England, and communications were opened with the Presbyterians in Scotland. Among the leaders of this conspiracy were the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Essex, Lord William Russell, and Algernon Sydney, the son of the Earl of Leicester. Another plot, of a different character, was meditated at the same time. The chief agents in it were Rumsey and Ferguson, Walcot and Rumbold. On the way from Newmarket to London, near Hoddesdon, there stood a lonely house belonging to Rumbold, called the Rye House. It was intended that forty men should attack the King and his guards at this spot as he returned from Newmarket. The scheme was only known to a few of the other conspirators. Russell and Monmouth were entirely ignorant of it. Innocence did not save Russell from the scaffold. He was

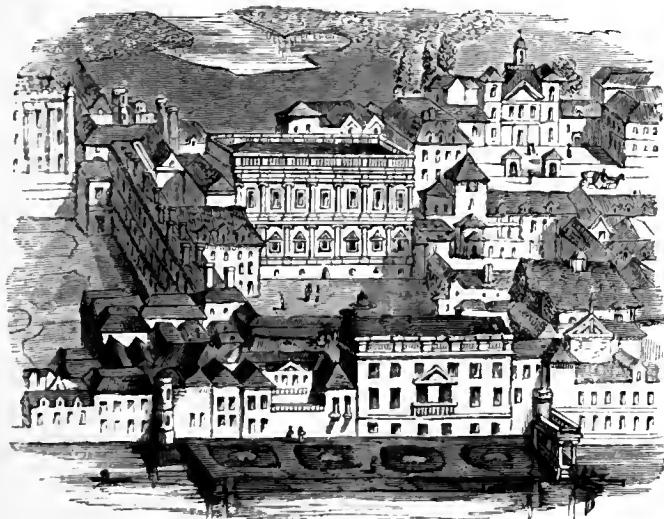


TOWER HILL, WHERE ALGERNON SYDNEY WAS EXECUTED.

accused of having attended the meeting at one Shepherd's, the object of which was the King's assassination. Russell in his defence denied the charge against him, and declared that he only went to Shepherd's for the purpose of tasting some wine, and that he was ignorant of any conspiracy against the King's life. His wife, Rachel Russell, the daughter of Lord Southampton, sat beside him through the whole trial, taking notes of the evidence and assisting the secretary. No efforts availed to save his life; he was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields on July 21st, 1683.

Another even more distinguished victim was Algernon Sydney, an enthusiastic republican, deeply learned in all the political literature which tended to explain the opinions which he held. The great object which he had in view was to establish a republican Government in England. The law provided that no one

could be convicted of treason except by the evidence of two witnesses. No one except Lord Howard of Escrick appeared against Sydney. A manuscript was, however, found amongst his papers which was received in the place of another witness. It was a refutation of Filmer's work on patriarchal government, and having been written many years before, could have nothing to do with the present conspiracy. Judge Jeffreys, who presided at the trial, declared in his summing up that the writing of a treasonable though private paper amounted to an open act of treason. Sydney was found guilty. When he received sentence he made a passionate exclamation, upon which Jeffreys said, "I pray God to work in you a temper fit to go into the other world, for I see you are not fit for this." "My lord," Sydney replied, "feel my pulse, and see if I am disordered. I bless God I never was in better temper than I am now." On December 7th he was executed on Tower Hill.



OLD WHITEHALL.

The Duke of Monmouth was pardoned after having made a complete and almost ignominious submission to his father and his uncle.

The discovery of this plot and the punishment of the conspirators placed the court in a triumphant position. The Whigs were regarded with horror. Their principles found no supporters; the duty of passive obedience was inculcated in the church and in the law courts, and addresses of submission poured in from all quarters. The Duke of York was acknowledged as the next heir, and felt himself strong enough to allow his daughter Anne, who had been brought up a Protestant, to marry a Protestant husband, Prince George of Denmark. It may be mentioned that this winter was a very severe one. The Thames was frozen over at London, and was crowded with whole streets of shops. Coaches plied regularly between Westminster and London Bridge, calling at the several stairs. The frozen river was occupied with popular sports, bull-baiting, horse and carriage races, puppet-shows, and other plays. At the same time the atmosphere was filled with

a thick brown fog, so that it was scarcely possible to see across the streets. The end of Charles's life and reign was now approaching. It found him in the midst of complicated intrigues. Halifax, who held the post of Lord Privy Seal, had always been more of a Whig than a Tory. His acute mind perceived that popery and arbitrary government could never be permanently established in England. He voted against a subjection of England to France, and he was a believer in Parliamentary government. He was strongly opposed by the Duke of York, and by Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester. Charles appeared now to incline to his side. Louis no longer found it necessary to secure the assistance of the King of England. He not only withdrew the pension he had hitherto paid, but he published the secret Treaty of Dover, and allowed Charles to discover that the House of Commons had been tampered with by the French ambassador. Charles began to turn his mind towards a Protestant succession. He summoned the Duke of Monmouth from Holland, and contemplated the convocation of Parliament and the banishment of the Duke of York. At other moments he appeared to incline to the other side. In the midst of these disputes came his death, which Macaulay has described in so graphic a manner.

“On Sunday, February 1st, 1685, the great gallery of Whitehall was crowded with revellers and gamblers. The King sat chatting with his three female favourites, Barbara Palmer, Duchess of Cleveland, Louise de Querouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth, and Hortensia Mancini, Duchess of Mazarin. A French page stood by and warbled some amorous verses, a party of courtiers were playing cards round a large table. The King complained that he did not feel well and had no appetite for his supper. The next day was to see the decisive struggle between Halifax and Rochester. Charles had scarcely risen from bed on the following morning when he was seized with a fit of apoplexy. He was laid upon his bed insensible, but on the application of violent remedies recovered consciousness. On Thursday, February 5th, he was said to be going on well and was thought to be out of danger, but in the evening there was a serious relapse. The bishops who surrounded his bed did their best to induce him to receive the sacrament according to the forms of the Church of England, but he steadily refused. At last the Duchess of Portsmouth told Barillon, the French ambassador, that the King was really and truly a Catholic, and that he ought not to die without being reconciled to the Church. Barillon brought the information to James, who went to the sick man, told the crowd to stand aloof, and whispered something to his brother which no one could hear. Charles replied, ‘Yes, with all my heart.’ The Duke said, ‘Shall I bring a priest?’ ‘For God’s sake, do,’ replied the King. ‘But will it not expose you to danger?’ The room was cleared of all those present except the Earl of Bath and the Earl of Feversham. Father Huddleston was brought in through a private door by the King’s valet. James introduced him to his brother with these words, ‘Sir, this worthy man once saved your life; he now comes to save your soul.’ Charles told him that it was his desire to die in the communion of the Roman Catholic Church, and that he heartily repented of all his sins. Huddleston having received his confession gave him extreme unction, administered

the Sacrament, and withdrew. All this had occupied three-quarters of an hour, after which courtiers were again admitted.

“During the night the King suffered great pain. The Queen sent a messenger to excuse her absence, and begged pardon for any offences that she might have committed. ‘Alas! poor woman,’ said the King, ‘she beg my pardon! I beg hers with all my heart; take her back that answer.’ Early the next morning he awoke with a pain in his side. Three hours later he lost the faculty of speech, and about noon he expired without pain.”

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Charles R". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent loop at the end of the "R".



## CHAPTER III.

### JAMES II.



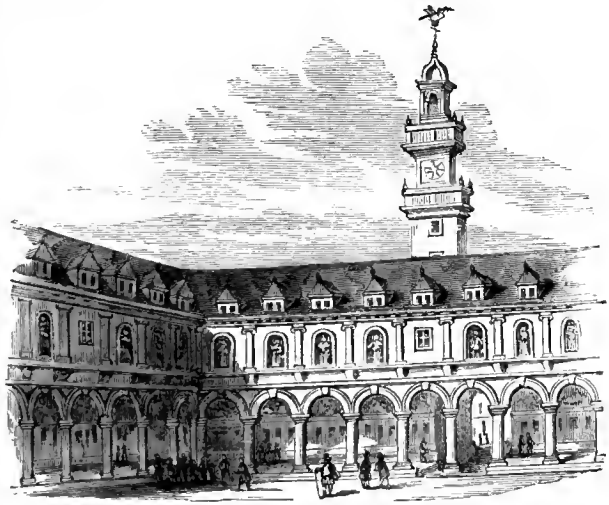
IMMEDIATELY after the death of Charles, the privy councillors, who were in the palace, assembled. The new king took his place at the head of the board. He said, "I have been reported a man for arbitrary power, but that is not the only story that has been made of me. I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this government, both in Church and State, as it is now by law established. I know the principles of the Church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it have shown themselves good and loyal subjects; therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it. I know, too, that the laws of England are suffi-

cient to make the King as great a monarch as I can wish; and, as I shall never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, so I shall never invade any man's property. I have often, heretofore, ventured my life in defence of the nation, and I shall still go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties." These words were taken down, approved by the King, and published. Proclamation of the new sovereign was made at Whitehall, at Temple Bar, and at the Royal Exchange. Casks of wine were broken up in the streets, and passers-by were invited to drink the health of King James. The first care of the King was to appoint his ministers. Rochester was declared Lord Treasurer, and thus became Prime Minister. The King determined to superintend the department of the Admiralty himself. Sunderland was allowed to continue in his office as Secretary of State. Godolphin was made chamberlain to the Queen. These three noblemen were James's principal advisers. Halifax was transferred from the post of Privy Seal to the less important office of President of the Council. James determined not to trust Halifax, and to give him no important share in public business.

James had been only a few days on the throne when he committed an illegal

act. The customs had been settled on Charles for life only, and could not, therefore, be properly exacted by the new sovereign. Jeffreys, the Chief Justice, advised the King to issue an edict stating that it was his will and pleasure that the customs should continue to be paid. In many periods of the history of England this proclamation would have produced a violent outbreak, but the spirit of opposition had not yet revived. At the same time James declared his intention to summon a Parliament; the only scruple which hindered him was the fear of offending the King of France. He took care to explain to the French ambassador that he would keep a strict guard over the proceedings of Parliament, and prevent them from meddling with matters that did not concern them. He professed complete submission to the wishes of Louis, and received from the French king a solid present of £607,000. Before Parliament met he determined to punish those who had invented the odious imposture of the Popish Plot. Titus Oates had already been condemned

to a fine of £100,000, and, being unable to pay, was lying in prison as a debtor. The King was not satisfied with this punishment, and determined to submit him to severe torture. He was condemned to be stripped of his clergyman's dress, to be placed twice in the pillory, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate, and two days later from Newgate to Tyburn; he was to be kept in prison during the rest of his life, and



OLD ROYAL EXCHANGE, WHERE JAMES II. WAS PROCLAIMED KING.

exposed in the pillory five times a year. This sentence was strictly carried out, and strange to say he survived both floggings, which on the second day amounted to seventeen hundred strokes. Dangerfield was also sentenced to a similar flogging. He was killed at the close of it by the casual blow of a bystander.

A victim of a different kind was Richard Baxter, who belonged to the mildest and most temperate section of the Puritan body. He approved of the restoration, and did his best to bring about a union between Episcopalians and Presbyterians. When that failed he refused the bishopric of Hereford, left his parsonage of Kidderminster, and gave himself up to study. He was now attacked because in a commentary on the New Testament he had complained with some bitterness of the persecution which the Dissenters suffered. He was tried by Jeffreys, who behaved with great violence, and repeatedly insulted the prisoner; yet his punishment was comparatively lenient. He was fined, and imprisoned for eighteen months—a severe trial for an old man of seventy years.



LOUIS XIV. AND MADEMOISELLE LA VALLIÈRE.

Persecution was not confined to England. In the Scotch Parliament new



penalties were enacted against the Covenanters. Anyone who preached in a conventicle, whether under cover or in the open air, was liable to death and confiscation of property. The army was set loose to carry these measures into effect, and among the soldiers the most notorious were the dragoons commanded by John Graham of Claverhouse. Parliament met on May 19th, 1685; nearly four-fifths of the house was entirely new. The King in his opening speech, three days later, promised to maintain the established Government in Church and State. At the same time he told the House of Commons that although he hoped to call them together frequently, he should not do so unless they treated him well. They ended by voting him the same revenue as had been enjoyed by Charles II., with the addition of a tax on tobacco and sugar. Within a month the throne of the new King was exposed to a great danger. The Duke of Monmouth had been



THE HAGUE.

living at the Hague, expecting every day to be summoned to London by his father. When he heard the news of the death of Charles and the accession of James he spent the night in sobs and tears. He immediately left Holland, having promised the Prince and Princess of Holland that he would make no attempt against the English Government. He took up his abode at Brussels, and there he was beset by a number of discontented Whigs, who did all they could to persuade him to assert his claim. It was at last arranged that the Earl of Argyll, whom, we have before mentioned, had escaped execution, should make an attempt on the west coast of Scotland, and that it should be followed by a descent on England. An attempt was made to induce the Dutch Government to prevent the expedition from sailing, but their heart was not in their work, and Argyll was able to escape. In four days he reached the coast, and about eighteen hundred men assembled

in the Isthmus of Tarbet. There was confusion among the leaders, they were



THE LAST SLEEP OF ARGYLL.

distracted by divergent councils; the Highland troops deserted by hundreds, and a fruitless march was made against the Lowlands. At last all thought of fighting

was given up, and the rebels had to consider their own safety. Argyll was seized whilst crossing a ford, and was dragged as a prisoner through Edinburgh in triumph. He was obliged to walk on foot, bareheaded, through the whole length of the High Street, the executioner bearing the axe before him. He was put in irons and informed that he had only a few days to live; yet with severe torture in prospect he refused to give up the names of any of his associates. He slept peacefully on the night before his execution, and died with dignity and heroism.

It had been arranged that Monmouth should leave the Texel six days after the death of Argyll, but he had been delayed by contrary winds. On the 11th of June he appeared off the Port of Lyme, in Dorsetshire. The Custom House officers who went on board did not return, and soon eighty men landed from the strange ships. The Duke was received with enthusiasm, and the news of his arrival spread over the western counties with wild excitement. A force was being collected at Bridport to oppose the insurgents, but the struggle was without a definite result. A more serious conflict took place at Axminster, in which Monk, alarmed by the signs of defection which appeared in his own ranks, beat a retreat which soon became a rout. If Monmouth had

pressed his advantage he might have taken Exeter without a blow. He preferred, however, to march upon Taunton.

The news of the rebellion was received by the Parliament with firmness. An Act of Attainder was passed against Monmouth, and a large sum was voted for the King's necessities. In the meanwhile Monmouth was received at Taunton with enthusiasm. The doors and windows were adorned with wreaths and flowers. On the 20th of June he was proclaimed King in the market-place as James II., a title easily confused with that of the reigning sovereign. The next day he proceeded to Bridgewater and took up his residence at the castle. His army at this time consisted of about six thousand men badly armed and the cavalry badly

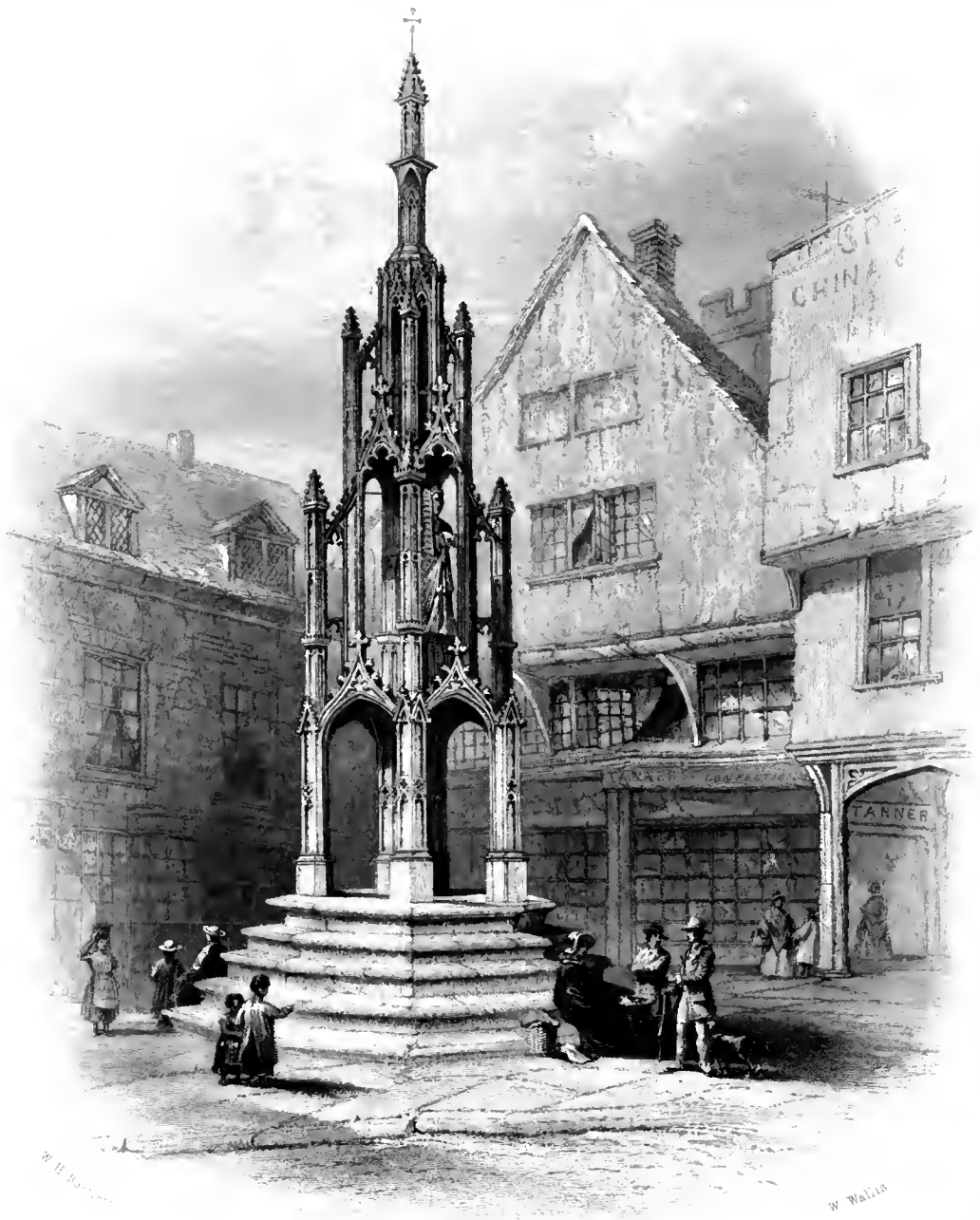


AIX LA CHAPELLE.

mounted. From Bridgewater, on June 22nd, the Duke marched to Glastonbury, and from there to Wells, and from there to a little market-town, Shepton Mallet, which afterwards suffered severely for its reception of him. Here he formed the design of seizing Bristol, then weakly garrisoned, where he would find money and arms; but he was too slow in his movements. The Life Guards attacked his little army at Keynsham and compelled him to relinquish his design. He was now entirely without a plan, but eventually turned towards Wiltshire. He summoned Bath, which refused to yield, and marched on to Frome, which received him heartily but could be of no real service. Here he received news of the defeat of Argyll, and a deep despondency seized him. His followers were badly clothed and were worn out by constant marching through heavy roads and bad weather. He seriously thought of stealing away secretly to the Continent, and leaving his followers to shift for themselves. Hearing, however, that a large number of peasants were assembling in his cause at Bridgewater, he returned to that town. At this moment the King's forces came into sight, consisting of about two thousand five hundred regular troops and about fifteen hundred militia. On July 5th their tents were pitched about three miles from Bridgewater, on the plain of Sedgemoor. Monmouth surveyed them from the steeple of the parish church of Bridgewater. As he looked on the regular troops he said, "I know these men, they will fight; if I had them all would go well." He determined to attack the royal army by night, and marched out of the castle an hour before midnight. Three broad ditches lay between him and the object of his attack. The first was crossed without difficulty but the second caused delay, and the third had been overlooked. A pistol accidentally discharged alarmed the King's army and prevented a surprise. The result could hardly be doubtful. In a very short time the rout of Monmouth's army was complete. Of the Royalists only three hundred were killed or wounded; of the rebels more than a thousand lay dead on the moor. This, Macaulay says, was the last fight deserving of the name of battle which was fought on English ground. The sun was rising at four o'clock in the morning when the defeated fugitives returned to Bridgewater. The village churches on the moor were crowded with prisoners, and the day after the battle the road to Bridgewater was lined with rebels hanging in chains. Monmouth fled before the conclusion of the battle. He first made his way towards Wales, and afterwards changed his mind and made for Hampshire. Their horses were turned loose, and their saddles and bridles concealed. Monmouth disguised himself as a peasant, but after several days of weary wandering, he was discovered hidden in a ditch, and taken to Ringwood. Monmouth showed no courage in adversity. James had the cruelty to summon him to his presence and to gloat over his abject submission. He reproached him bitterly, but offered no hope of pardon. It is a strange satire on Monmouth's morbid dread of pain that his execution was carried out with great barbarity.

The punishment inflicted on Monmouth was repeated with equal severity upon his adherents. The work of executing prisoners was committed to Colonel Kirke, a brutal officer who had served in Tangier against the Moors. His colours bore



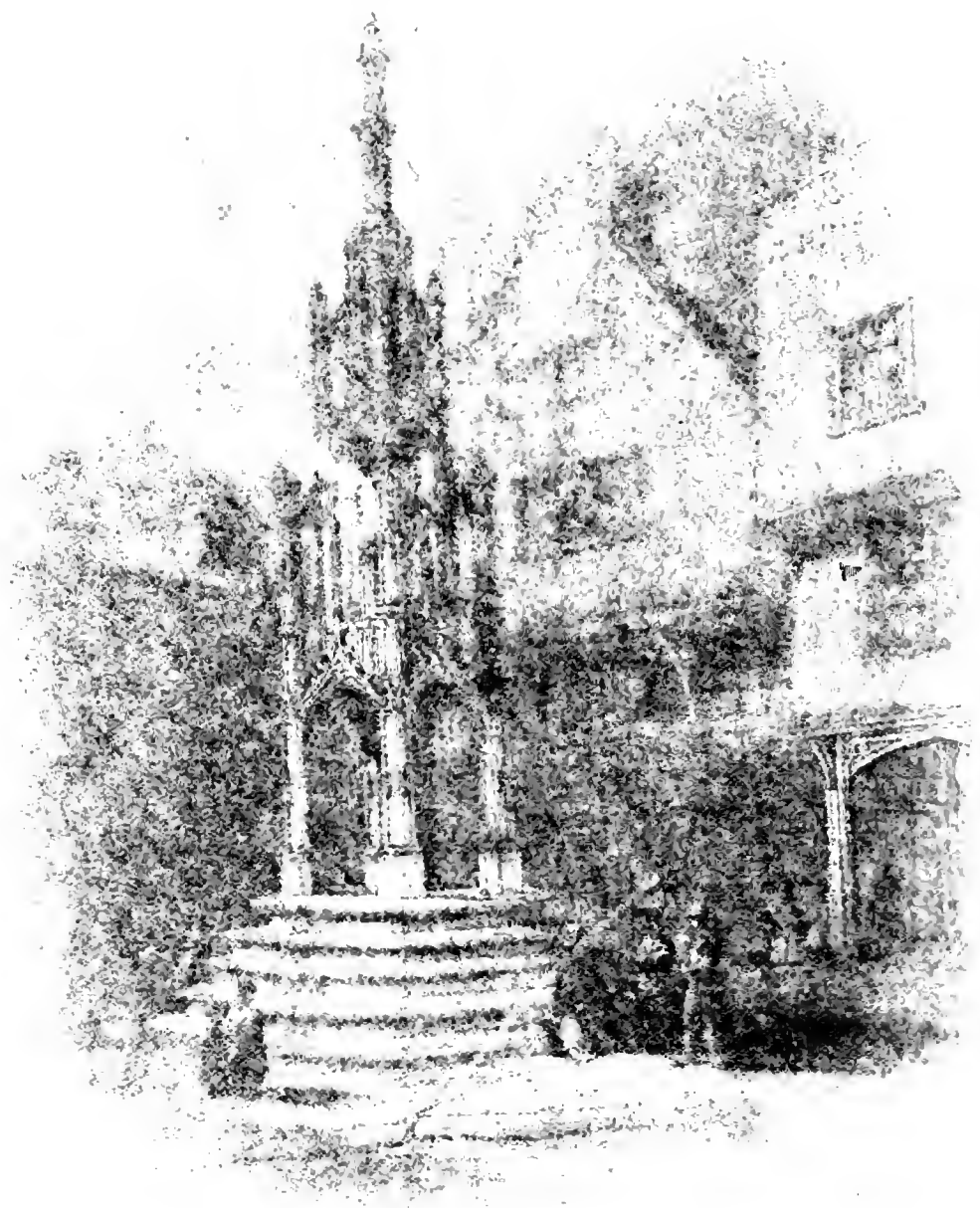


W. H. ...

W. WALLIS

MARKET CROSS, WINCHESTER

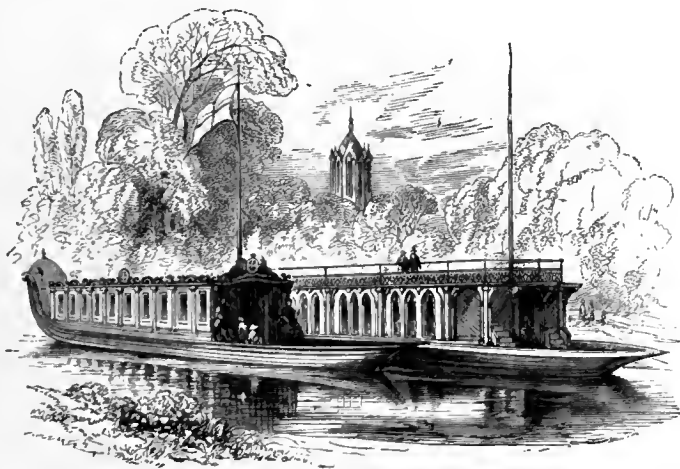






the device of a paschal lamb, so that his soldiers, well-known for their ferocity, went by the nickname of "Kirke's lambs." He entered Taunton with two carts of wounded rebels and a long line of prisoners on foot chained two and two. Some of these were hung without trial from the signpost of the White Hart, and were afterwards quartered. Kirke, however, was soon recalled, because he was suspected of letting off his prisoners for money.

He was succeeded by Judge Jeffreys, whose campaign, known as the "Bloody Assize," is a slur on English history. The commission was opened at Winchester. One of the first victims was the widow of John Lisle, commonly known as Lady Alice. She was accused of harbouring rebels, whose guilt, however, had not been proved. She was condemned to be burnt alive, but this sentence was afterwards commuted to beheading. At Dorchester matters became worse. The court was hung with scarlet, two hundred and ninety-two prisoners were condemned and seventy-four were hanged. At Exeter only thirteen were executed, but this



STATE BARGES.

deficiency was made up for in Somersetshire. Here in a few days two hundred and thirty-three prisoners were hanged, drawn, and quartered. Macaulay tells us that "at every spot where two roads met, on every market-place, on the green of every large village which had furnished Monmouth with soldiers, ironed corpses clattering in the wind, or heads and quarters stuck on poles, poisoned the air and made the traveller sick with horror." The whole number of rebels hanged by Jeffreys on this circuit was three hundred and twenty; besides this eight hundred and forty-nine persons were transported, and thirty-three fined or whipped. When Jeffreys returned to Windsor he received the Great Seal of England as the reward of his devotion.

The defeat of Monmouth naturally strengthened James's position. He now determined to effect three things on which he had set his heart: the establishment of a standing army, the repeal of the Test Act, and the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act. He had indeed violated the second of these provisions in attempting

to carry out his first object. Many Roman Catholics had received commissions in the army by which the rebels had been defeated. This breach of the law had continued after the pressing necessity for it had passed away. When Halifax opposed it at the Council he was deprived of his offices, and his name was struck out of the Council book. It happened that only nine days before Louis XIV. had revoked the Edict of Nantes, which had given toleration to the Protestants. The King's idea was to drive the nonconforming ministers out of his dominions, but to keep their flocks at home. Notwithstanding the strict blockade of the French ports, in a few months fifty thousand families quitted France for ever. They took refuge in Holland, Germany, and England, carrying wherever they went the seeds of industry and enlightenment. When Parliament met on November 9th, James boldly declared that he had created a standing army, and in doing so had violated



ST. JOHN'S GATE, CLERKENWELL.

the Test Act. This statement produced a violent storm. On a division the Government was defeated by a majority of one, in a Parliament which James had believed to be entirely subservient to his wishes. The Court was divided again on the question of supply, when only half the money which James desired to obtain was granted to him with difficulty. The spirit of opposition spread from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, and even affected the Bench of Bishops. On November 20th Parliament was prorogued after it had sat for only eleven days.

James now turned his attention towards establishing, as far as possible, the Roman Catholic religion in England. The influence of Clarendon and Rochester, who remained Protestants, declined, whereas Sunderland, who had become a Catholic, was made President of the Council. Sunderland was in close alliance with the

Jesuits, who were naturally devoted to the conversion of England. Another step in the same direction was the renewal of the alliance with France. Lord Castlemaine was sent on an embassy to Rome. James had, under the pressure of public opinion, ordered a contribution to be made for the French exiles. He was much annoyed at the readiness with which money came in, and he imposed the vexatious condition that no Huguenot might receive anything from the fund unless he had first conformed to the Church of England. Parliament, which ought to have met in May, was again prorogued to November, and James employed the interval by establishing his dispensing power, by which he tried to override the law. He first privately ascertained the opinion of the judges, and then dismissed those who did not agree with him. When their places had been filled by servile creatures of his own, the matter came to an issue on the case of Sir Edward Hailes, who, on being accused of having held a commission in the army for more than three months without taking the Sacrament, pleaded in the bar the authority of the Royal



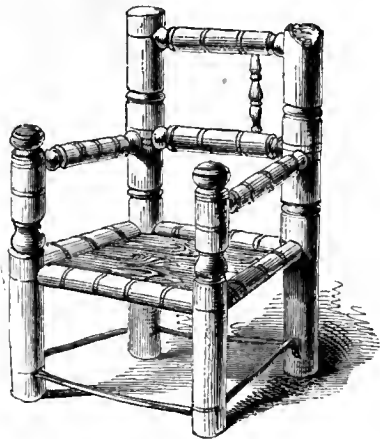
JOHN BUNYAN'S BIRTHPLACE.

Commission itself. Eleven out of the twelve judges decided that the King might lawfully dispense with penal statutes in particular cases and for special reasons of grave importance.

The maxim thus laid down was soon made full use of. Four Roman Catholic lords were admitted to the Privy Council. Roman Catholics were authorised to hold ecclesiastical benefices; a Roman Catholic was appointed to be Dean of Christ Church; the bishoprics of Oxford and Chester were given to men upon whom the King thought he could rely. A further step taken in July, 1686, was to create a new Court of High Commission. Seven commissioners had authority over all who were employed either in the Church or in any educational institution. Chancellor Jeffreys was head of the Court; of the other six, three were bishops and three were laymen. The first act of this new Court was to suspend Compton, Bishop of London. Even then it was difficult for James to get a majority for his verdict. Roman Catholic chapels rose all over the country. Cowls, girdles of

rope, and strings of beads constantly appeared in the streets. A new convent was built at Clerkenwell. A Franciscan monastery was established in Lincoln's Inn Fields and a Carmelite monastery in the city. The Benedictines were lodged in St. James's Palace. The Jesuits were housed in the Savoy, where a school was set up which threatened to be a formidable rival to the great Protestant public schools. The chapel at Whitehall was opened for the public celebration of the rites of the Roman Church. These things did not pass without disturbance. Riots broke out not only in London but in large provincial towns. On the pretence of putting these down, the King formed a camp of thirteen thousand men on Hounslow Heath, garnished with plenty of artillery. The effect, however, was rather to shake the fidelity of the troops than overawe the city. The camp at Hounslow became a favourite suburban resort, and the sympathy of the soldiers was soon secured for the people.

Events now went on rapidly which led to what is justly called the glorious revolution of 1688. The King's antipathy to all who were not of the Roman Catholic religion became more and more open. Rochester was informed that he could only keep his place in the Government by consenting to be converted. To this he would not consent. He was therefore dismissed, with a pension of £4,000 a year. His brother Clarendon was recalled from Ireland, and Tyrconnel, an ardent Catholic, was appointed Lord Deputy in his place. It was obvious that James would not admit any one to his councils who was not either a Roman Catholic or who held out some hope of being converted. It was not likely that these aggressions on the part of the King would



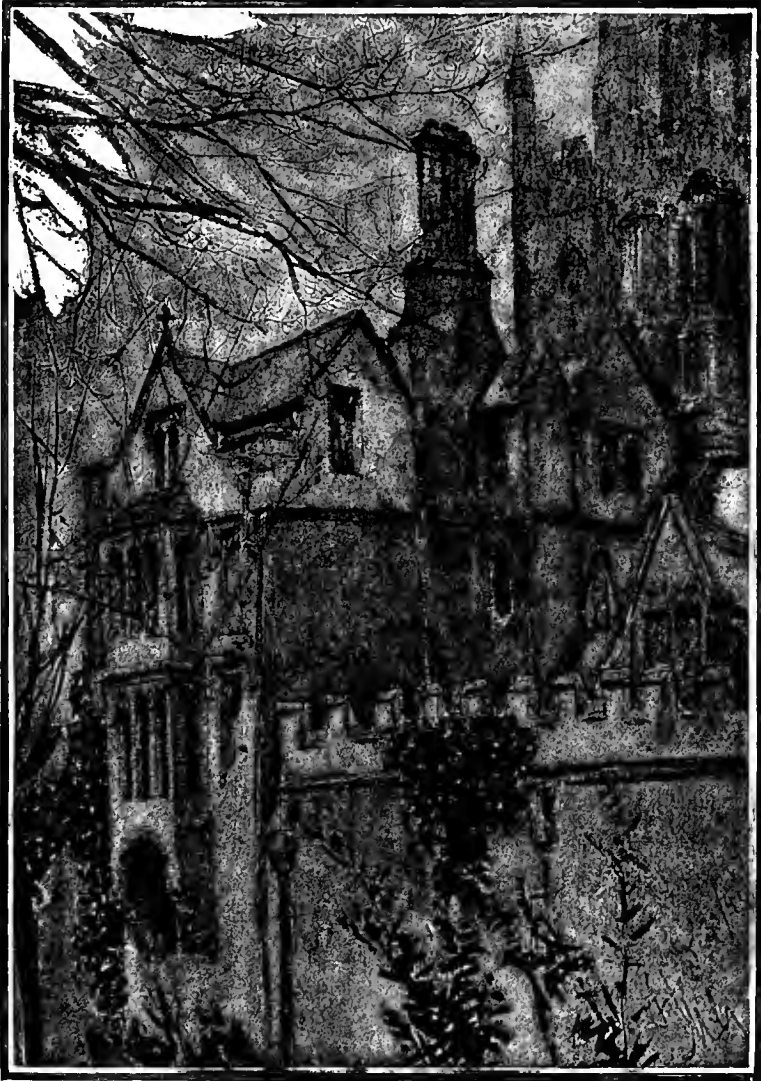
BUNYAN'S CHAIR.

meet with no resistance on the side of the Whigs. Those who were discontented with the Government of James naturally looked for support to his son-in-law, William, Prince of Orange, whose wife, Mary, was the next heir to the English Crown. William, indeed, had a strong personal interest in coming events. If James should succeed in establishing Roman Catholicism in England, it was possible that both his wife, Mary, and her sister, the Lady Anne, would be excluded from the succession. On the banks of the Thames, not far from Hurley, stands an old monastery converted into a country house. Its name, Lady Place, still shows its monastic origin. In this retired spot a plan was formed for bringing over William from Holland to assist the Whigs. In April, 1686, a blow was struck by James which brought matters to a crisis. He published what is known as the First Declaration of Indulgence, in which he declared that he earnestly wished to see his people members of his own Church, but as that was impossible he intended to protect them in the exercise of their religion. He suspended all penal laws against all classes of nonconformists. He authorised both Roman Catholics

and Dissenters to perform their worship publicly. He forbade, under severe penalties, to disturb any religious assembly, and he also did away with all Acts which imposed a test. It might be supposed that the Puritans would have fallen into the trap prepared for them; but the favours offered them were to be accepted with alacrity, at the price of seeing the religion which they most hated tolerated also. Some of them wavered, but the majority, including amongst them the most distinguished, stood firm. Baxter refused to join in any address of thanks to the Indulgence, and the same course was followed by John Bunyan, the author of the "Pilgrim's Progress." The Declaration of Indulgence was received with especial ill-favour by William and Mary in Holland, and they wrote grave remonstrances upon the subject to the King. Negotiations with the Whigs became more intimate than ever; the chief among these were Burnett in Holland and Dykvelt in England. Dykvelt coming to London in February, 1687, had conferences with the most important English statesmen. The Tories, the Moderates, and the Whigs all entrusted him with their confidences. William was assured of the support of the clergy, the army, and the navy. When the result of his mission proved so satisfactory, another envoy, Zulestein, was sent with fuller powers, and a regular correspondence was opened between the Prince and the Opposition. William took an opportunity of asserting publicly that he was opposed to religious persecution and was ready to allow freedom of worship to the English Catholics, but that he would never abolish the Test Act, which he regarded as the bulwark of the Church of England.

The attention of James was next directed to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He wished to open the highest university honours to members of his own Church. In February, 1687, he sent a letter to Peachell, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, ordering him to admit Alban Francis, a Benedictine monk, as a master of arts. Francis refused to take the required oaths, upon which the heads of colleges determined that they could not comply with the King's request. In answer to this the Vice-Chancellor and Senate were ordered to appear before the Court of High Commission at Westminster on April 21st. Among the delegates of the Senate was the celebrated Isaac Newton, Fellow of Trinity College and Professor of Mathematics. Jeffreys, who presided at the Court, treated the deputation with the greatest rudeness. Peachell was deposed from his vice-chancellorship, and suspended from the mastership of Magdalen College, over which he presided. To the rest of the delegates Jeffreys said, "Most of you are divines. I will therefore send you home with a text of scripture: 'Go your way, and sin no more, lest a worse thing happen unto you.'" An even worse attack was made about the same time upon the fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford. The president of the college died in March, 1687. The fellows were bound by their statutes to elect a president from those who either were or who had been fellows either of Magdalen or New College. The King was determined that no one should be appointed head who was not a Catholic. He therefore sent an order to the society to elect Anthony Farmer, who was not a fellow of either of the two colleges, and was a man of notoriously immoral life. The fellows, after delaying

the election to the latest day possible, chose one of their own society, John Hough, a man of the highest character. Early in June, the fellows were summoned to appear before the High Commission at Whitehall. Hough's election was declared void, and Parker, Bishop of Oxford, was proposed to the society. The fellows refused to admit him on the ground that there was no vacancy. The King, whilst

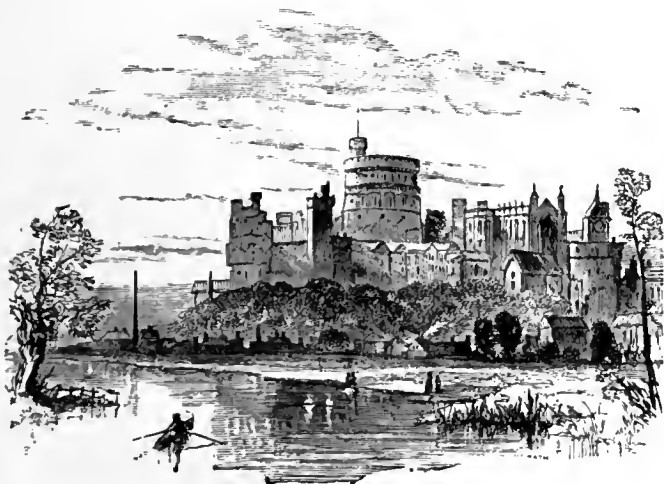


MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

on a progress through his dominions, came to Oxford, and sent for the fellows of Magdalen to appear before him. He treated them with great violence, and ordered them instantly to admit Parker, but after returning to their chapel they refused to obey. The Court of High Commission deprived Hough of his presidency, installed Parker by proxy, and attempted to overawe Oxford by a body of horse. The resistance was nearly universal: the porter of the college threw

down his keys, the butler refused to scratch Hough's name out of the buttery book, and no blacksmith could be found to force the lock off the president's lodgings. The fellows at last showed some signs of weakness. They agreed to admit Parker if the question should be decided in a competent court. But this compromise they afterwards withdrew. In consequence of this they were ejected from their fellowships and declared incapable of holding any ecclesiastical appointment. When Parker died shortly afterwards a Roman Catholic was appointed president. Service according to Catholic ritual was performed in the chapel, and the fellowships were given to persons of the same religion. The college was converted into a Roman Catholic seminary.

On July 2nd, 1687, Parliament, which had been prorogued since December, 1685, was finally dissolved, and on the following day James received a papal nuncio at his court. Shortly after this there was some idea that the Queen was likely to give birth to a son. In order that a regency might be established, it was



WINDSOR CASTLE.

necessary to summon a Parliament, and James determined to pack one to his liking. The lord-lieutenants of the different counties were requested to make out lists of persons devoted to the King who could be employed as returning officers, and to suggest the names of possible members of Parliament who would be prepared to vote for the Declaration of Indulgence. The consequence of this was that many of the lord-lieutenants resigned their offices. On April 27th, 1688, James published his Declaration of Indulgence a second time. It did not at first excite much attention, but on May 4th, he ordered that the document should be read in all churches on two successive Sundays—in London on the 20th and 27th of May, in the country on the 3rd and 10th of June. The interval allowed was so short that it was difficult for the whole clergy of the kingdom to make up their mind what they would do. The London clergy were obliged to decide for themselves, and there was a general feeling amongst them against reading the Declaration. Late on the Friday evening before the Declaration had to be read, a

petition was drawn up signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol. There was no time to be lost, so they took the petition in person from Lambeth to Whitehall. The King admitted them to his presence, but told them that the petition was a standard of rebellion and that they would disobey him at their peril. By some accident the petition became public and was spread over London amid the greatest excitement. On the fatal Sunday the Declaration was read in four churches only. In three of these the congregation arose and walked out of the sacred building. A week later similar scenes occurred in all the churches.

The King did not know what to do. The bishops were summoned before the Privy Council and were asked if they acknowledged their own hands to the petition. They were then told that they would have to answer for their offence at West-



OLD WESTMINSTER HALL.

minster Hall. Being called upon to offer bail they refused, saying that they would give nothing but their word. Thereupon they were committed to the Tower. As they were taken down the river from Whitehall to London Bridge, they passed through a line of boats crowded with people, who cried, "God bless your lordships!" The enthusiasm for the prisoners was universal and unbounded. The soldiers drunk to their health, the nobility crowded in their carriages to pay them a visit, and the King heard with alarm that a deputation of Nonconformist ministers had gone to see them. Just at this very time, on June 10th, 1688, the Queen was confined of a son, known afterwards as the Old Pretender, who died in 1766 at the age of seventy-seven. Five days later the bishops were brought up for trial before the King's Bench. They pleaded not guilty, and their further trial was fixed for a fortnight later. In the meantime they were allowed to retire to their



own homes. The excitement spread over the whole of England; the people of Cornwall chanted a ballad, of which the chorus is still remembered:—

“ And shall Trelawny die, and shall Trelawny die?  
Then thirty thousand Cornish boys will know the reason why.”

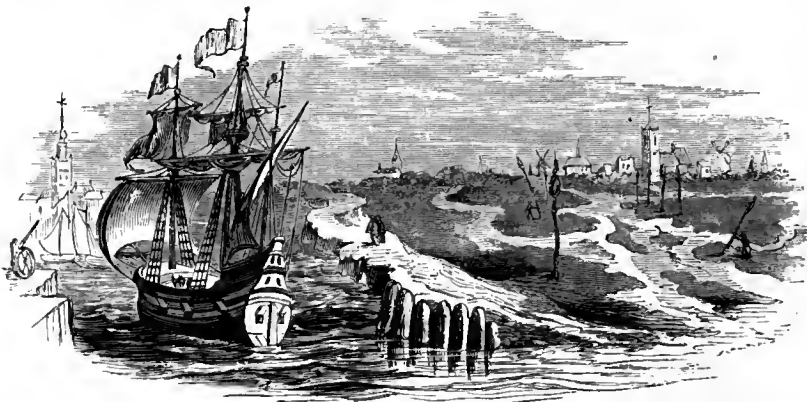
The great trial of the seven bishops took place on June 29th. It lasted from nine in the morning to six in the evening. The jury were locked up all night, and could not agree to their verdict till six o'clock next morning. When the court met on the following day the verdict of Not Guilty was declared. Shouts arose from the court and spread into Westminster Hall outside. Thence they passed to the streets and the river and to every part of London. In the camp at



AMSTERDAM.

Hounslow the presence of the King himself did not prevent the acclamation of the soldiers. London was illuminated, the Pope was burnt in effigy, and the rejoicings were repeated in all the towns of the kingdom. On the very same day a letter was sent to Prince William of Orange, asking him to bring over an army and to secure the liberties of the English people. William showed little hesitation in complying with this request. Three months later he issued a solemn declaration stating what he was about to do and his reasons for doing it. He said that he had seen with deep concern the fundamental laws of the kingdom with which he was closely connected grossly and systematically violated. He mentioned the Dispensing Act, the dismissal of judges, the establishment of a Court of High

Commission, the suppression of municipal liberties, and the tampering with the courts of justice. The remedy is to be found in the free and lawful Parliament. He therefore proposed to come over to England with an army which would keep order, and to submit everything to the decision of the great council of the nation. When James heard of this he was overcome with terror, and tried to undo the Acts which had brought about the catastrophe. He restored the officers who had been dismissed from the army ; he gave back the charters to the Crown ; he dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission, he restored the ejected fellows of Magdalen, he removed some of them from office, and drove Father Petre from the Council ; but it was too late, for the Prince of Orange was already on his road. William set sail on October 19th, but he was driven back by a violent storm. On November 1st he put to sea for the second time, and on November 5th landed at Torbay. As he sailed down the Channel the drums and trumpets of the Dutch army could be heard both on the French and English coasts, which were thickly crowded with innumerable spectators. The coast of Devonshire was chosen for his landing,



DUTCH SEAPOET.

because the inhabitants were devoted to the cause of Protestantism and remembered the name of Monmouth with affection. On November 9th William entered Exeter. James collected an army to oppose him on Salisbury Plain. The Earl of Danby raised the standard of insurrection in Yorkshire and the Earl of Devonshire in the midlands. As William advanced towards London, John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, deserted James and joined him, whilst Princess Anne betook herself to those who were rising in the north. When James heard of this last desertion he burst into tears and exclaimed, "God help me ! my very children have forsaken me." The only skirmish which accompanied the invasion took place at Reading, on December 8th. Negotiations between the King and the Prince were opened at Hungerford, but they led to nothing. Indeed, the only use of them was to cause a delay during which James could escape. The Queen and the baby Prince of Wales were sent into France, and James was not long in following them. On his first attempt to escape he was recaptured, but as soon as the council of lords heard of it they ordered him to be set at liberty. Five days later

he was escorted to Rochester, and finally left the kingdom. On December 18th, 1689, the Prince of Orange slept for the first time in the palace of St. James's.

There was some difficulty in deciding by what right William should claim



TRAVELLING CHEST OF WILLIAM III.

the crown. He was advised to do so by right of conquest, but this suggestion he rejected. He determined to summon a kind of Parliament composed of both houses. About seventy bishops and peers obeyed his summons and formed the

House of Lords. To make a House of Commons, he invited all those who had sat in any parliament of Charles II. They advised that a convention parliament should be elected in the same way as an ordinary parliament, and this was carried into effect. There was much division of opinion as to what should be done. Some wished to proclaim a regency, some to proclaim the Princess of Orange queen. It was at last resolved by the Commons that King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne was thereby vacant. The next question was who should fill the vacant place. William refused to accept a regency, and the popular feeling was in favour of giving the crown to the Prince and Princess of Orange. Whilst these discussions were proceeding in the Lords, the Commons resolved that "before the committee proceed to fill the throne now vacant, they will proceed to secure our religion, laws, and liberties." This was done by a Declaration of Rights, which was afterwards passed by Parliament in regular form as a Bill of Rights. It recited what were held to be the fundamental liberties of the kingdom, and it has remained since the corner-stone of our constitution. The Declaration, after being solemnly approved by both Houses, was presented to the Prince and Princess of Orange on February 13th, 1689, in the Banqueting House of Whitehall. When they had signified their consent to it, Halifax, in the name of the estates of the realm, asked them to accept the crown, upon which William replied, "We thankfully accept what you have offered to us." In this manner the revolution was accomplished.





## CHAPTER IV.

### WILLIAM AND MARY.



OFF TO IRELAND, 1689. FATHER PETRE  
AND THE INFANT PRINCE OF WALES.

THE first act of William III. was to form a ministry. The Earl of Danby was appointed President of the Council, Halifax was made Privy Seal, Nottingham and Shrewsbury became Secretaries of State. The care of the navy and the treasury was entrusted to boards, the object being to interest as many leading people as possible in the policy of the Government. William kept the administration of foreign affairs in his own hands. The household appointments were given, for the most part, to William's Dutch friends, the principal of whom was Bentinck, who was created Earl of Portland. Twelve new judges were appointed, who were selected

with great care. Each member of the Privy Council was invited to bring a list, and of these the most distinguished were selected.

An important question now arose as to whether the Convention, which had been summoned before William's arrival in England, could be turned into a Parliament, or whether a fresh election was necessary. After some discussion an Act was passed which effected the change, but it did not pass the House of Commons without difficulty. It was decided by this Act that after the 1st of March, 1689, no one might sit and vote in either House without taking the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. A change was also made in the royal revenue. This had previously consisted of two parts: the hereditary revenue, which amounted to about half a million; and a sum granted to James II. by Parliament for his life, which amounted to nearly a million more. Parliament now determined to exercise control over the whole revenue, which they fixed at £1,200,000, and a still more important step was to fix the purposes to which each department of the revenue should be appropriated. An estimate was made of the probable needs of each department, and the supply was carefully divided into the different heads. This practice has continued ever since. The yearly revenue voted by Parliament

depends upon two acts: one, which declares in what manner the taxes are to be raised; and the other, which declares in what way the revenue is to be spent. Another change of importance was brought about by the passing of the first Mutiny Act. The army did not receive the change of government with the same satisfaction as the nation at large. The King determined to dispatch the regiments in which he had least confidence to the Continent. When the first regiment of



IN A CARTHUSIAN CONVENT.

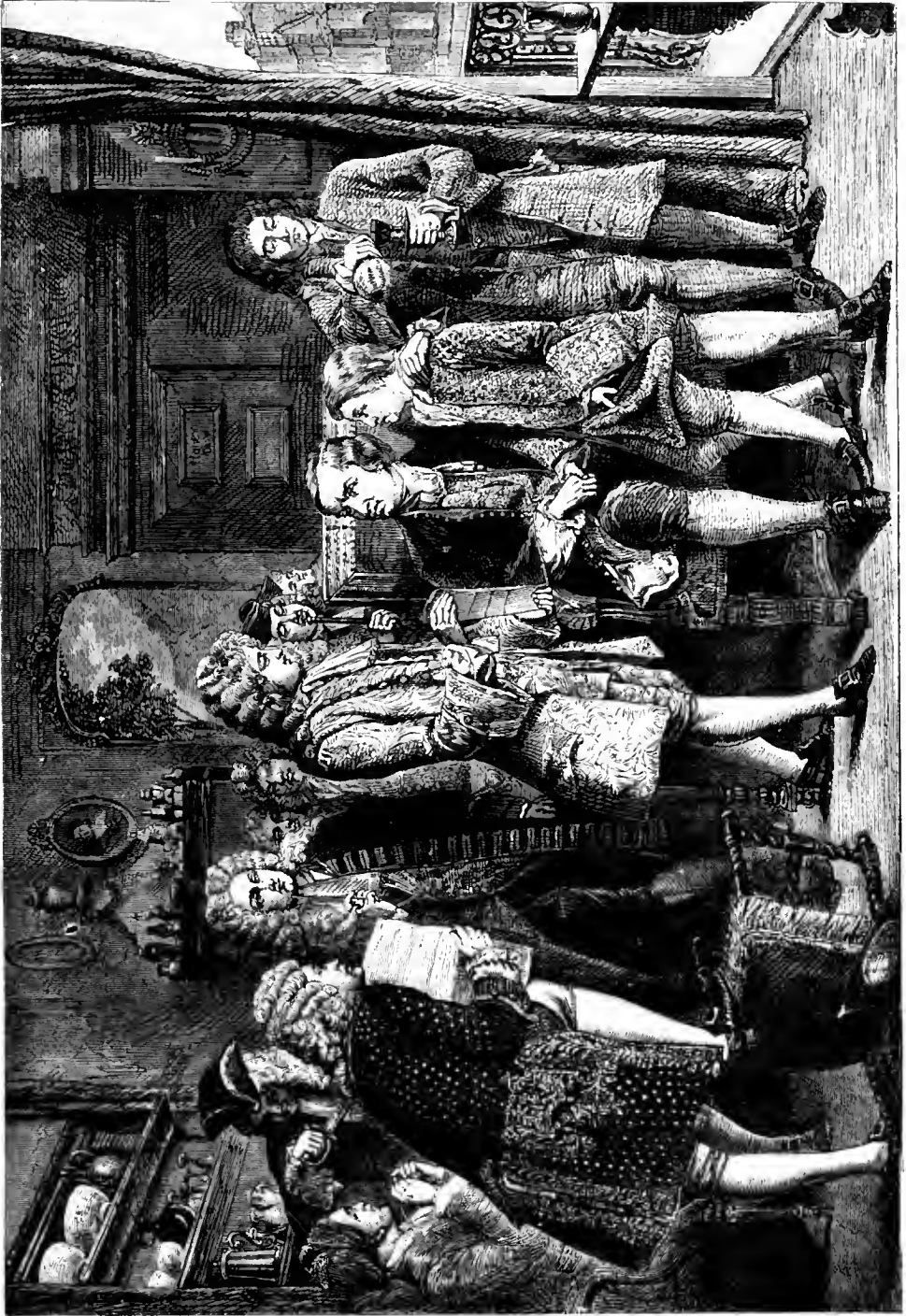
the line, which consisted mainly of Scotchmen, was ordered abroad they refused to go. They mutinied at Ipswich, seized some artillery, and announced their devotion to King James. They then proceeded to march northward, but they were overtaken at Sleaford, in Lincolnshire, by three Dutch regiments commanded by Ginkel; they surrendered, and went where they were ordered. To prevent a recurrence of this catastrophe a Mutiny Act was passed, placing the soldiers under

martial law. It was at first limited to six months, but was afterwards renewed from year to year. The necessity of passing an Appropriation Act and a Mutiny Act are the two reasons why annual parliaments must always be held in England. If these Acts were not passed there would be no money to carry on the business of the country, and there would be no means of securing the obedience of the troops. The chief provisions of the Mutiny Act were: a declaration that standing armies and courts-martial were unknown to the law of England, and a provision that no man mustered on pay in the service of the Crown should, under pain of death or some lighter punishment, desert his colours or mutiny against his officers.

Although William was not able to carry out his desire of a general amnesty he effected something towards religious toleration. He wished, indeed, for three great measures; first, to tolerate all kinds of people who were not in communion with the English Church; secondly, to modify the ritual and articles of the Church of England, so as to make them as comprehensive as possible; and thirdly, to admit all Protestants to the service of the State. The first object he managed to bring about without much difficulty. Dissenters were allowed to practise their religion, and meeting-houses were allowed to be built. The Earl of Nottingham introduced a measure, called the Comprehension Bill, which was intended to secure the King's second object. It was received with little favour. It passed the House of Peers with considerable difficulty, and was stopped altogether by the House of Commons, who referred it to the Convocation, a body which never met. The King's third desire was equally futile. It was impossible to admit Protestants to office without repealing the Test Act, and to have done this would have admitted Catholics at the same time. There was also another reason against making any change. A small but influential party in the Church, about four hundred in number, had refused to take the oath of allegiance and had therefore been deprived of their benefices. These non-jurors, as they were called, had left the Church for purely political reasons. It was feared that if the ritual was altered they might support the old methods of worship, and thus bring a new schism into existence. The sect of non-jurors, which comprehended some of the best divines in the Church—Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich; Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wales; together with Sherlock, Collier, and Kettlewell—continued to linger on to the beginning of the present century.

It cannot be doubted that William III. was induced to accept the crown of England mainly by the desire to obtain the assistance of that country in the coalition against the overbearing power of Louis XIV. One of his first steps on ascending the throne was to declare war against France. Before we can understand this, it will be necessary to give some account of the general condition of things on the Continent. Spain, at this time, was one of the most powerful countries in Europe. She possessed a large empire in the Indies, the Netherlands in the north of Europe, together with Milan and the south of Italy. Her great rival was France, and her principal safety lay in a close alliance with Holland and England, who had been at one time her most bitter enemies. Spain, therefore, supported the accession of William to the throne of England. The consequence of this was that

Louis XIV., who had already declared war against Holland, now declared war



POPE INTRODUCED TO DRYDEN.

against Spain in April, 1689. The great question now was as to which side would be taken by the court of Vienna. The Emperor did not like to support a Protestant



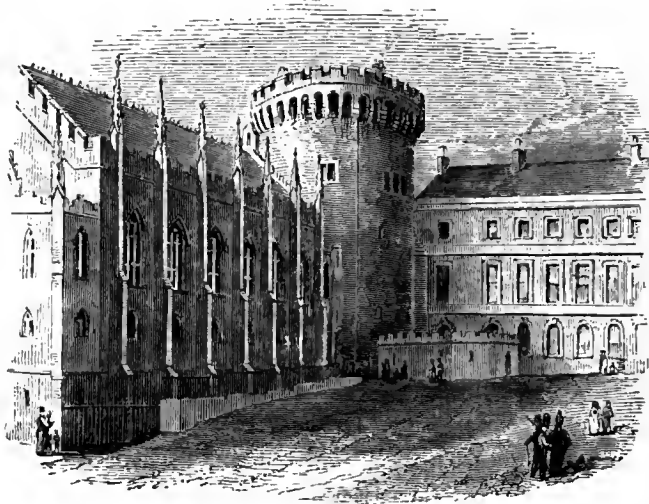
prince. James assured him that the very existence of monarchy was at stake ; and that he ought to receive the support of all crowned heads. But the Emperor was now engaged in a war with Turkey, and he could only oppose the French advancement with the assistance of England and Holland. Just at this time Louis committed an act of great folly. Although his queen, Maria Luisa, a Spanish princess, had on her marriage, renounced her claim to the crown of Spain, Louis now revived it, and even tried to get his son, the Dauphin, elected king of the Romans, which would result in his becoming Emperor. If this policy had succeeded, the house of Austria would have lost the throne of Spain and the empire of Germany. These considerations induced the Emperor to sign a treaty with the republic of Holland in May, 1689, in which William III. was recognised as King of England. The treaty was signed in England with the full consent of William III. The Dutch were, indeed, in a difficult dilemma. If they submitted to France, they would become a part of the system of Catholic Europe. If they placed England at the head of the Grand Alliance, they were building up a power which would one day crush them. The coalition against France was further strengthened by the adhesion of Denmark. There was a great struggle as to the side which should be taken by Victor Amadeus II., Duke of Savoy, who held possessions on both sides of the Alps. Between France and Austria he seemed to be able to throw his weight decisively into either scale. Louis attempted to obtain his object by the forcible occupation of the Duke's fortresses. Irritated by this, he agreed to join the other side on the promise of the royal dignity and of a liberal subsidy. The chain of alliances against France was now complete, and on May 13th, 1689, William declared war against that power with the full approbation of Parliament.

In October, 1689, the Declaration of Rights, which had preceded the acceptance of the crown by William and Mary, was now passed as a formal Act of Parliament. It declared the illegality of the pretended power of suspending or dispensing with laws, of the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission and all such tribunals, of the practice of levying money without the grant of Parliament, and of keeping a standing army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament. It also declared that all subjects had the right of petitioning the King ; that the election of members of Parliament ought to be free and unrestrained ; that Parliament should possess the most complete freedom of speech and debate, and ought to meet frequently for the purpose of redressing grievances and strengthening the laws. Finally, William and Mary were declared king and queen of England, and all Papists, or those who married Papists, were pronounced incapable of possessing the crown.

The Convention Parliament, as it was called, was dissolved in January, 1690. Only two more of its acts deserve mention. A bill was passed for restoring to the towns the charters which had been forfeited under Charles II. and James II. The Whigs attempted to add to this bill a clause that all those who had been concerned in the surrender of the charters should be excluded from office. This clause, however, the Tories succeeded in throwing out. A similar struggle took place on the Indemnity Bill, which was designed to pardon those who had been instruments of the late oppressions. The Whigs did their best to exclude as many as possible

from the operation of this statute, and so high did party feeling run that William was on the point of leaving England and returning to Holland. The bill had, in fact, to be given up.

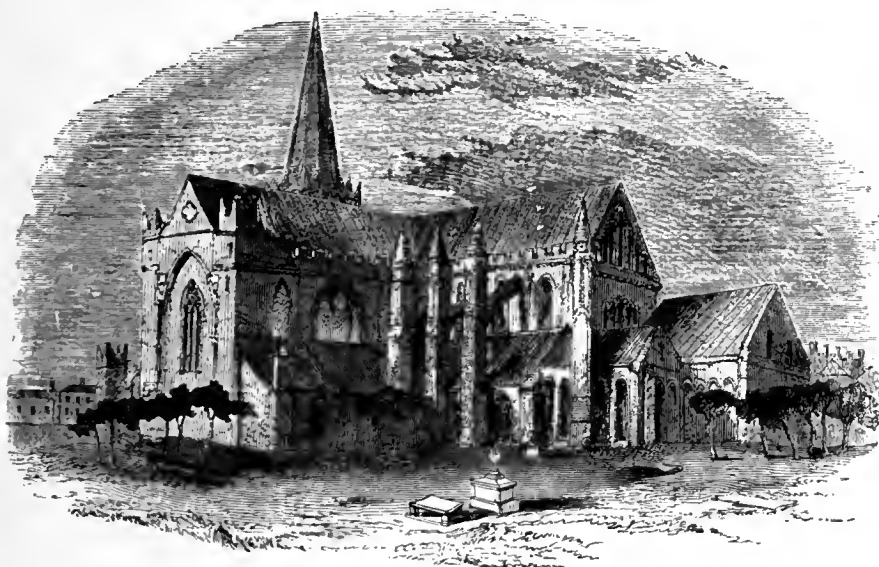
In the meantime, James was fighting for his crown in Ireland. In that island he had ample opportunity for establishing the supremacy of the Catholics. The highest offices in the state were filled by Papists, and the Protestants were placed everywhere in a position of subjection. Indeed, they were so terrified by the attitude of the Earl of Tyrconnel, who was lord deputy of the country, that many of them retired to England, and those who remained prepared for self defence. Tyrconnel attempted to garrison the principal towns with popish soldiers. He met, however, with a vigorous resistance at Enniskillen and Londonderry. These violent acts had taken place just before the landing of William in England, and after the revolution, Tyrconnel was forced to temporise. It was, however, natural that



BIRMINGHAM TOWER, DUBLIN CASTLE.

James, driven from England, should turn towards Ireland with greater hope. For some time he had been making preparations at Brest. He set sail with a fleet of twenty-three men-of-war and twelve hundred Irish soldiers in the pay of France. He landed at Kinsale on March 12th, 1689, and entered Dublin in triumph on March 24th. Londonderry and Enniskillen had proclaimed William and Mary. These towns formed a refuge for Protestants from all parts. William had sent Richard Hamilton to Ireland to receive the submission of Tyrconnel, but he had proved a traitor, had joined the opposite camp, and was now besieging Londonderry. James determined to join them, but before he did so he made arrangements for calling a parliament in Dublin on May 7th. As he proceeded northward, he passed through a devastated country. There was neither food for men nor fodder for horses. James himself was only half-hearted in the expedition. News that the Protestants had assembled caused him to retreat. Better information encouraged

him to advance. At last, he was given to understand that if he appeared before the walls of Londonderry it would surrender without a blow. He found, however, that the fact was very different from the expectation. Confident of success, he approached within a hundred yards of the southern gate but was met with a shout of "No surrender!" An officer of his staff fell dead at his side, being shot by the fire of the nearest bastion, and James himself had some difficulty in escaping the cannon balls. He therefore hastened back to Dublin to meet his Parliament. It is sometimes urged that the proceedings of this Parliament are a warning as to what might be the effect of summoning any other Irish Parliament at Dublin. It will, however, be seen that the composition of this assembly was so peculiar that no lesson can be drawn from it. It consisted almost entirely of Roman Catholics. Out of a hundred peers summoned, only fourteen presented themselves, and of

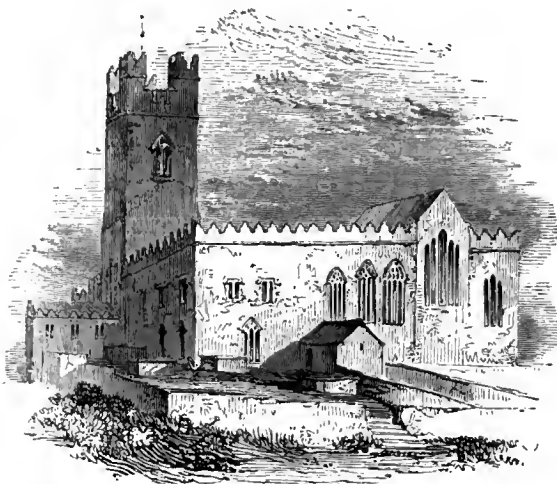


ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

these, ten were Catholics. The House of Commons numbered about two hundred and fifty, of which only six were Protestants. When we remember how the Catholics had hitherto been excluded from all share in government, and had been treated with the grossest violence and injustice, it is not to be wondered at if they now went too far in avenging their wrongs. The acts passed by this Parliament are, indeed, entirely indefensible. The pretence of tolerating religious liberty was quite illusory. By the Act of Settlement, published in 1660, those who had received lands under Cromwell were, to a great extent, confirmed in the possession of their estates. This Act was now repealed, much against the will of James. The lands were seized by the Papists and their owners proscribed. The whole property of the Protestant Church was taken away and given to the Roman Catholics. The Protestants were prohibited from assembling anywhere under pain of death. They were plundered by the troops, and impoverished by the issue of base

money. Added to all this, an Act of Attainder was passed, by which two or three thousand were ordered to surrender themselves before a certain time. If they failed to do this (and the Act was not passed until the days of grace had expired), their property was confiscated and they themselves were held to have forfeited their lives. Although James was opposed to the most violent of these measures, yet he could not help being injuriously affected by them. The news brought from Ireland tended to strengthen the cause of William in England, and this was further enforced by the fugitive English, who came over in crowds to demand the protection of their mother country.

The first great event in the civil war was the siege of Londonderry. The first governor of the town, Lundy, had been very near betraying them to James. They therefore deposed and imprisoned him, and set up in his place George Walker, a Presbyterian minister. Richard Hamilton, who had charge of the siege, found



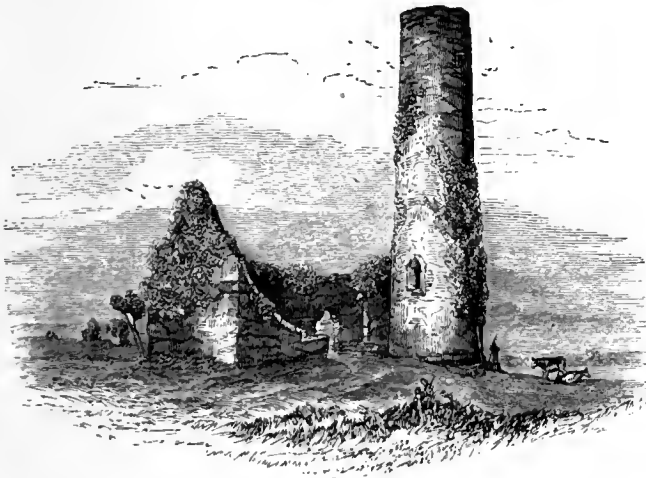
LIMERICK CATHEDRAL.

that he could not succeed by those means, and determined on a blockade. The great object was to prevent the introduction of supplies by way of the river Foyle. Walker therefore threw a large boom across the river, made of huge pieces of fir-wood, strongly bound together, and fastened to either bank by huge cables. Besides this, the banks of the river were lined with forts. The garrison began to suffer the extremity of hunger. They fed on salted hides and on dogs, which were sold at

an enormous price. The living were scarcely able to bury the dead. Disease broke out to add to their misery. They were, however, determined not to give in, and repeated with bated breath, "First the horses and hides, and then the prisoners, and then each other." Relief came when the provisions could only hold out two days longer. Kirke, who commanded the fleet in the river, determined to break the boom. On the evening of July 28th, three ships were seen coming up the Foyle. One of them, the *Mountjoy*, owned and commanded by Micajah Browning, dashed at the centre of the boom. The ship rebounded and stuck in the mud, but the *Phoenix*, commanded by Admiral Douglas, attacked in the same place and broke through. The tide began to rise, and the *Mountjoy* was able to pass the barrier. Unfortunately, in the moment of victory, a shot struck her master and killed him. The ships arrived at the quay at ten o'clock. Barrels of meal, great cheeses, casks of beef, fitches of bacon, kegs of butter, sacks of peas and biscuits, and ankers of brandy were poured out in large quantities. The bells of the city rang a joyous

peal. After a hundred days siege, the army retreated. The garrison had been reduced from six thousand to three thousand. When it was known that the Irish army had retired, a deputation from the city invited Kirke to take the command. Three days later, the men of Enniskillen, who had been hardly pressed, defeated McCarthy's troops at the battle of Newton Butler. By these two actions, Ulster was set free, and James formed the intention of retiring to the Continent.

The news which reached James from Scotland was as disheartening as the occurrences in Ireland. William had summoned a Convention of the Estates to meet on March 14th, 1689. Edinburgh Castle was at this time held by the Duke of Gordon, who refused to surrender it either to James or William. The Convention elected the Duke of Hamilton as President. It summoned the castle to surrender. James wrote a letter to his adherents of so indiscreet a nature that they determined to leave Edinburgh and betake themselves to Stirling. The Convention passed



ROUND TOWER OF CROOM, LIMERICK.

an Act declaring that James VII. had forfeited the crown, and that the throne was vacant. A Claim of Right was passed, similar to the Bill of Rights which had been adopted by the English Parliament, and the coronation oath was revised. It was then determined that the crown of Scotland should be settled on William and Mary in the same manner as the crown of England had been. Viscount Dundee, one of James's principal adherents, had, after leaving Edinburgh, retired to the castle of Dudhope, where he opened a correspondence with the highland chiefs. They were especially incensed against the Earl of Argyll, the head of the great house of Campbell, who were regarded as intruders and traitors to the national cause. About six thousand soon rallied round the standard of Dundee. The forces of the Government were commanded by General Mackay. A decisive battle took place on July 27th, 1689, in the narrow pass of Killiecrankie. The actual victory remained with Dundee, for he pierced the enemy's line and totally routed it; but this success was of no use, because he was killed in the moment of triumph and there

was no one able to take his place. The Highlanders gradually dispersed, and Edinburgh Castle surrendered. The only place that held out for James was the Bass Rock in the Firth of Forth, which did not surrender until April, 1694.

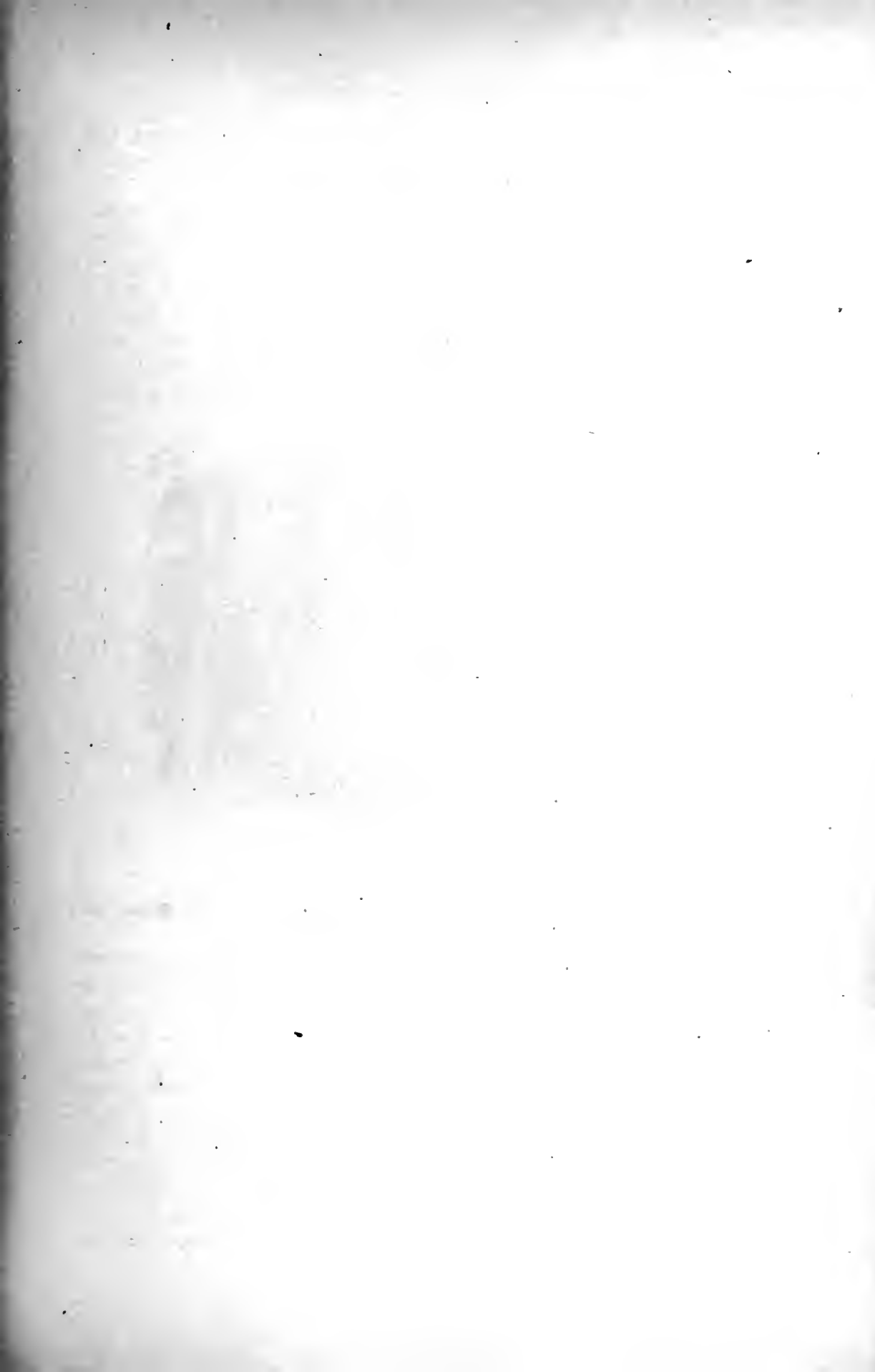
The new Parliament met in March, with a majority of the Tories. A bill, which was introduced for the purpose of making all holders of offices abjure King James, was rejected by both houses. This discomfiture of the Whigs was made still stronger by a communication from the King. In May, 1690, an Act of Grace was granted by the Crown, giving an amnesty to all political offenders, except the regicides and about thirty others. This wise Act was due to the wisdom of William alone. After this he informed the houses that he intended to visit Ireland, and that he should not require their services till the following winter.



SLANE CASTLE, BELFAST.

In his absence a council of nine, composed of four Whigs and five Tories, was appointed to administer the Government under Mary.

On June 14, 1690, William landed at Carrickfergus, and proceeded immediately to Belfast. On the road he met Marshal Schomberg, who had been in Ireland since the middle of August, but who had been able to effect nothing. The King's spirits rose with the prospect of action. He took his share of every hardship. He would never sleep in a house. He was personally known to all the troops. After ten days halt he proceeded southward. The Irish army had been reinforced by a number of French, and was now under the command of a French officer, Lauzun. The original intention of James seems to have been to have tried the chances of a pitched battle on the border between Leinster and Ulster, but, instead of this, he retreated slowly to Donore. On Monday, June 30, William reached the summit of a rising ground near the southern border of the county of Louth, overlooking the valley of the Boyne. He saw that James's tent was





THE WEDDINGS.

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pitched on the height of Drogheda, two miles distant from the river. The southern bank of the river was covered with a line of sentinels. All James's soldiers were ordered to march in a line for three days. The King rode daily to the river, to see the position of the Irish, from a distance of about a hundred feet distant. At length he was obliged to retreat to the opposite shore. They recognized the sentinels which were placed behind a hedge, and a bullet tore his coat and grazed his arm. He was unable to spend nineteen hours on horseback.

On the following day, July 1, the four both armies were in motion. The King's army marched to the bridge of Slane, in order to cross the river. At ten o'clock, William, at the head of his army, appeared far above Drogheda. The centre was left under the command of Every man wore a green bough in his hat. They first hid in the stream, and when in the middle of the ford they found themselves far more numerous than they expected. Still the King's army held in a moment, the whole Irish line gave way. With great arms, colours, and cloaks, and scampered off to the river. A blow or firing a shot. The cavalry under Hamilton engaged the Dutch Blues in the middle of the river. The King rallied the Huguenots with the words, "Come on, persecutors!" Unfortunately, he was cut down dead, and with him perished Walker, the saviour of Londonderry. William rode up on the left and decided the day. James, when the battle was lost, galloped away to Dublin. He shortly afterwards fled to Kinsale and embarked for France. Drogheda surrendered the following day, and on July 8 William entered Dublin in triumph. The victory was altogether unclouded by defeat. Scarcely had William set out from London when a great French fleet, commanded by the Comte de Tourville, left the port of Brest and entered the English Channel. He crossed over to Plymouth and passed along the coast of Devonshire and Dorsetshire. The command of the English fleet was taken by Torrington. Off the Isle of Wight he was joined by the Dutch fleet. The French ships lay close off the Needles. Torrington did not at first intend to fight, but when off Beachy Head he received orders to do so. The battle took place on June 30, the day before the battle of the Boyne. Unfortunately, the English were entirely defeated. Shortly after this the French landed on the coast of Devonshire, and burnt the town of Teignmouth. Another misfortune occurred in the Netherlands. The Prince of Waldeck, who commanded the armies of the coalition, was surprised by Marshal Luxemburg, at Mousis and defeated. These disasters, however, only served to unite the English in resistance to the

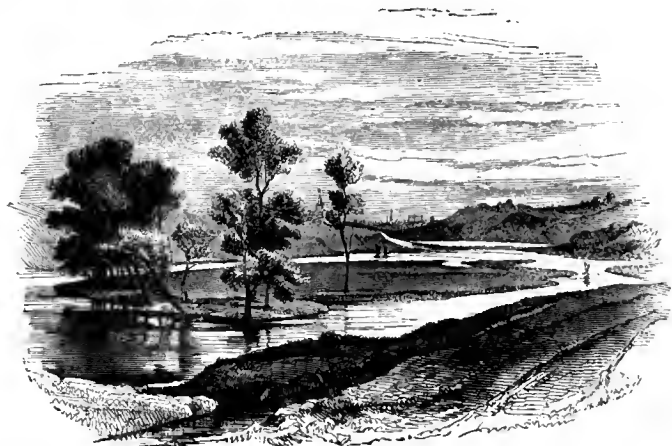


pitched on the height of Donore, on the opposite side of the river; and the towers of Drogheda, two miles distant, exhibited the united flags of Stuart and Bourbon. The southern bank of the river was lined by the camp and batteries of the enemy. All James's soldiers wore a white badge in their hats. It was still early in the day. The King rode slowly along the north bank of the river, and examined the position of the Irish, from whom he was sometimes not more than two hundred feet distant. At length he got off his horse, sat down on the turf, and called for breakfast. Whilst he was thus engaged, a body of horsemen appeared on the opposite shore. They recognised the King and brought down two field-pieces, which were placed behind a hedge, almost at the brink of the river. A six-pound bullet tore his coat and grazed his shoulder, but little harm was done, as he was able to spend nineteen hours on horseback that day.

On the following day, July 1, the sun rose bright and cloudless. Soon after four both armies were in motion. The English right wing marched up the river to the bridge of Slane, in order to cross and attack the left flank of the Irish. At ten o'clock, William, at the head of his left wing, prepared to pass the river not far above Drogheda. The centre was left under the command of Schomberg. Every man wore a green bough in his hat. They marched steadily into the stream, and when in the middle of the ford they found that the Irish forces were far more numerous than they expected. Still they pressed on, and, unexpectedly, in a moment, the whole Irish line gave way. Whole regiments flung away arms, colours, and cloaks, and scampered off to the hills without striking a blow or firing a shot. The cavalry under Hamilton tried to retrieve this defeat, and engaged the Dutch Blues in the middle of the river. Old Marshal Schomberg rallied the Huguenots with the words, "Come on, gentlemen, there are your persecutors!" Unfortunately, he was cut down almost at the same moment, and with him perished Walker, the saviour of Londonderry. At this critical moment William rode up on the left and decided the day. James, when he saw that the battle was lost, galloped away to Dublin. He shortly afterwards took ship at Kinsale and embarked for France. Drogheda surrendered on the following day, and on July 8 William entered Dublin in triumph. This victory was not altogether unclouded by defeat. Scarcely had William set out from London when a great French fleet, commanded by the Comte de Tourville, left the port of Brest and entered the English Channel. He crossed over to Plymouth and passed along the coast of Devonshire and Dorsetshire. The command of the English fleet was taken by Torrington. Off the Isle of Wight he was joined by the Dutch fleet. The French ships lay close off the Needles. Torrington did not at first intend to fight, but when off Beachy Head he received orders to do so. The battle took place on June 30, the day before the battle of the Boyne. Unfortunately, the English were entirely defeated. Shortly after this the French landed on the coast of Devonshire, and burnt the town of Teignmouth. Another misfortune occurred in the Netherlands. The Prince of Waldeck, who commanded the armies of the coalition, was surprised by Marshal Luxemburg, at Fleurus, and defeated. These disasters, however, only served to unite the English in resistance to the

foreign foe. After the battle of the Boyne, William and Marlborough subdued the south of Ireland, and the Irish retreated beyond the Shannon. William laid siege to Limerick, but, not being able to take it by assault, returned to England. He landed at Bristol on September 6th, and, after staying with the Duke of Beaufort at Badminton, and the Duke of Somerset at Marlborough, entered London with every demonstration of joy. After his departure from Ireland Marlborough took Cork and Kinsale.

The Duke of Shrewsbury had resigned the office of Secretary of State in June, 1690. Lord Godolphin became First Lord of the Treasury in the middle of November, an office which he held till October, 1690. He was of a middle stature, well set, and of a strong constitution. His face was brown in colour and somewhat disfigured by small-pox, but it was enlivened by a quick, piercing eye. His manner was somewhat morose and haughty, but the natural severity of his countenance was now and then sweetened by a smile. Torrington was tried for

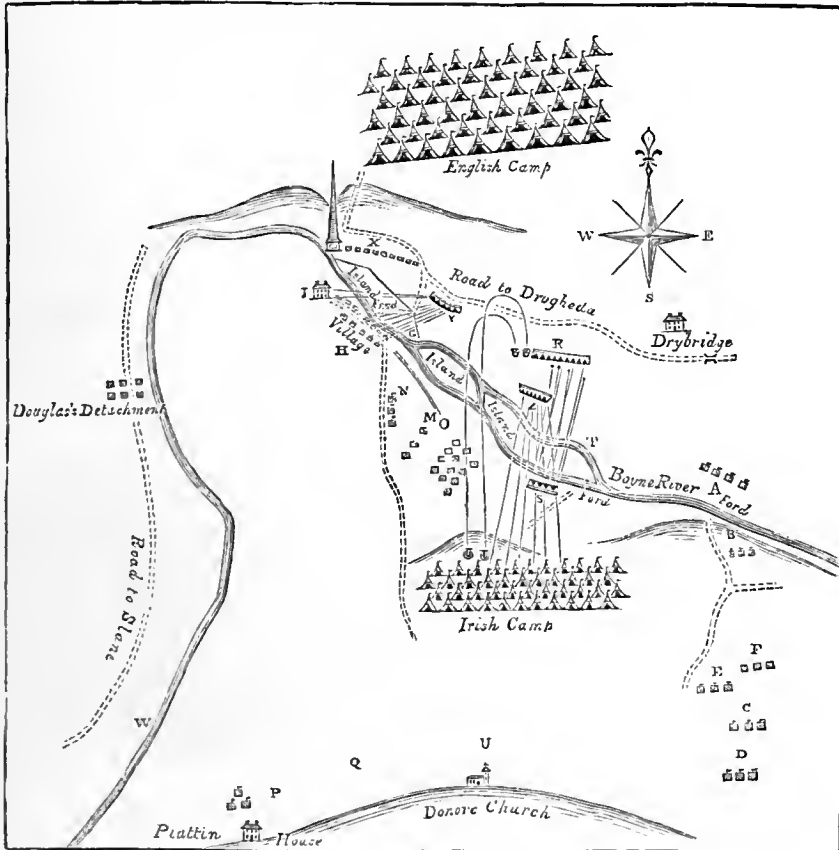


THE BOYNE FROM OLD BRIDGE.

his conduct at Beachy Head, and was acquitted; but William could not suffer him to remain in command of the fleet, and his place was taken by Russell. At the end of the year a Jacobite plot was formed with the object of inviting James to return to England. The chief actors in the plot were Viscount Preston and John Ashton. Preston, who was deputed to carry the message to James, was arrested while on board ship on his way to France. There were found upon him papers containing full information for the carrying out of the plot, a list of the fleet, a declaration to be published by James on his landing, and letters from persons of importance. The conspirators were imprisoned. Ashton was executed immediately; but the fate of Preston was held in suspense, in the hope that he might reveal his accomplices. It is not known whether the confession he made was true or false. At any rate, he was pardoned and allowed to spend his days in a country house.

When these matters had been settled and the plot put down, the King went to

the Hague. He took his old seat at the head of the council table on February 7. He apologised for having accepted the crown that had been offered him. He had done so from no lust of power, but from a desire to defend the faith and welfare of



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

A. Here King William passed the Boyne at the head of four troops of Enniskillen horse, one regiment of Danish horse, and one regiment of English foot.

B. A regiment of Irish Dragoons posted on high ground near the river, who fired at the King when in the river.

C. A regiment of Irish horse, in a fallow field, defeated and pursued by the said four troops of Enniskillen horse.

D. A body of Irish horse, who repulsed the said four troops, and pursued them up to the Danish regiment at E.

E. A regiment of Danish horse who gave way, upon which King William was obliged to retreat a little.

F. A regiment of English foot, who made good their ground, and repulsed the Irish horse, upon which King William rallied the Danes and Enniskilliners, and cut to pieces the said Irish horse and Dragoons.

G. The ford where the Blue Dutch Guards passed the river. Schomberg also passed the river here, after the Blue Dutch had cleared the way.

H. The village of Old Bridge.

I. A sited house full of Irish soldiers.

K. Here the Blue Dutch Guards attacked a body of Irish foot, and routed them.

L. Duke Schomberg, Doctor Walker, and Colonel Callimote, were killed here by a squadron of Parker's horse.

M. The Blue Dutch fought another body of Irish foot here, and repulsed them.

N. A body of Irish horse were repulsed here by Colonel St. John's regiment of foot.

O. The Blue Dutch Guards together with Callimote's and St. John's regiments of foot, fought a large body of French and Irish foot, and beat them, upon which the Irish army abandoned their camp and baggage, and retreated towards Duleek in great haste.

P. Here General Hamilton, with a large body of horse, attacked and routed eight troops of the Enniskillen horse, and pursued them with some slaughter.

Q. King William put a stop to the pursuit here, took General Hamilton prisoner, and cut his party to pieces.

R. The English Battery.

S. The Irish Battery.

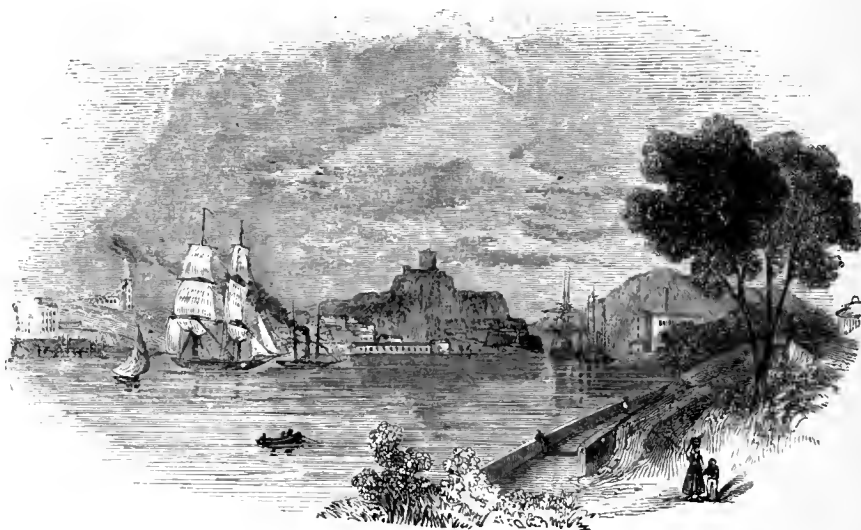
T. The place where eight troops of Enniskillen horse and some more forces passed the Boyne.

U. Here King James stood during the action.

England, and to obtain the means of supporting the republic and her allies with a strong arm. He said that he was now come to take council with the allies, and to attend to his duties as captain-general of the Republic. At this time Louis was

besieging Mons. It fell on April 8th, and caused a bitter pang to William. For the moment he returned to England. Here he found himself obliged to take strong measures against non-juring bishops. Turner, Bishop of Ely, had been implicated in the plot, and had said that the chiefs of the non-jurors were ready to join in any movement for the restoration of James. Sancroft, therefore, was deprived of the archbishopric of Canterbury, and Tillotson was appointed in his place. Six other bishops, including the saint-like Ken, were also removed from their sees. They kept up the appointment of an episcopal line for more than a hundred years later.

The year 1691 also saw important advances towards the pacification of Ireland. The French had by no means given up hope of recovering that country. They sent large supplies, and contributed a general of distinction, St. Ruth, to the



DROGHEDA.

command of the Irish army. William placed his own army under the command of Giukel, a Dutchman, afterwards created Earl of Athlone. A decisive battle took place at this city. It was divided into two parts by the river Shannon. St. Ruth did his best to prevent the English from crossing the river, but the Prince of Würtemberg discovered a ford which made the passage possible. He was carried across on the shoulders of two grenadiers and led the storm of the place sword in hand. The town fell on June 30th, 1691. The next great conflict was at Aghrim, where Ginkel attacked St. Ruth with an army superior in strength. At first he pushed forward too hotly and was repulsed. The battle was far from decided when St. Ruth was killed by a cannon ball. This ball lies on Schomberg's monument in the cathedral of Dublin, and thus joins the names of the two great victories of Aghrim and the Boyne. The war was put an end to by the capture of Limerick on October 3, which led to an arrangement called the

Pacification of Limerick, which, for a long time was regarded by the Roman



PASS OF GLENCOE.

Catholics as the charter of their liberties. The treaty consisted of two parts, one

military, the other civil. It was agreed by the first that any Irish officers and soldiers who wished to go to France should be conveyed there. Of the Irish army eleven thousand volunteered for the French service, but of these many deserted afterwards. Those who kept their design formed an Irish brigade under the command of the gallant Sarsfield. The civil treaty provided that the Roman Catholics of Ireland should enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as were consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they were enjoyed in the reign of Charles II. A promise was also given that as soon as a Parliament should be summoned in Ireland, an attempt should be made to give the Roman Catholics security for the exercise of their faith. Unfortunately, the line of policy adopted by England for many years afterwards towards the Irish was entirely opposed to the principles of the Pacification of Limerick.

During the absence of William in Holland in 1691, Marlborough was conducting a correspondence with King James, in which he expressed his sorrow for having deserted him, and promised to send him information as to the strength of the English army and the plan of the campaign. His companions in this treacherous conduct were Godolphin, the First Lord of the Treasury, and Russell, who had succeeded Torrington in the command of the navy. Russell, indeed, promised that he would use his influence with the fleet to make it over to his former sovereign. This Russell, who was nephew of William, first Duke of Bedford, had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Channel Fleet in December, 1690. He was a man of middling stature, rather stout and of a florid complexion. William was quite unconscious that the two trusted officers who commanded his army and his fleet were, together with the prime minister, pledged to betray him. Marlborough accompanied William to the Continent, and was then placed at the head of the English forces in the Low Countries, who were collected in a camp near Brussels. He had promised James that he would desert at the head of his troops, but he was too cautious to take such a step. His design, probably, was to stand well with both sovereigns, and to secure that if William should be unsuccessful and James should return, he would not be in a worse position. However, his intrigues continued throughout the year. The Jacobites began to suspect he was playing a double part, and they informed Bentinck of his machinations. When the King heard of it he was deeply moved. On the evening of January 9th, 1692, Queen Mary had a full explanation with her sister, Princess Anne. The next morning Marlborough was informed that their majesties had no further need of his services, and that he must not again appear in the royal presence. Princess Anne, who was devoted to Marlborough, did not give up her friends; she retired from court and took up her abode in Sion House, which belonged to the Duke of Somerset. For this she was treated with great ignominy. Her guard of honour was taken away, the foreign ministers ceased to wait upon her, and she was no longer received with royal honours.

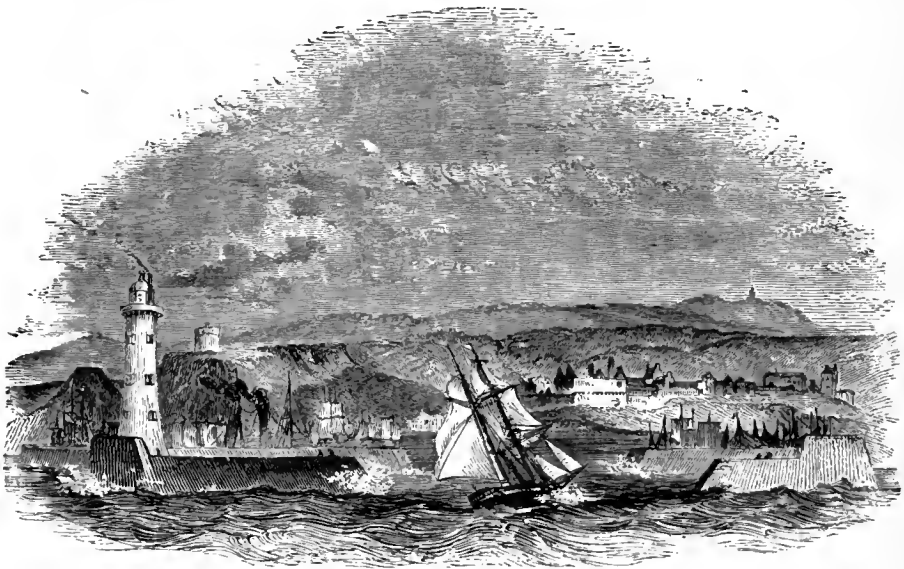
In the meantime, a terrible event had happened in Scotland. The Presbyterian system was established as the established religion of that country, and the toleration which William had so much in heart was found as difficult to secure in



Scotland as it had been in England. The King being disgusted with this, removed Lord Melville from the head of the Scotch Government, and put in his place Sir John Dalrymple, who, as the eldest son of Lord Stair, was called the Master of Stair. Dalrymple was a good administrator, but he was too prone to impress his own ideas of government on those who differed from him. He desired to see Scotland a prosperous homogeneous kingdom, and disliked the wild Highland clans who filled the north of that country with disorder and rapine. He would not have objected to rooting out these clans by fire and sword. The clans had taken the part of King James, but William was anxious to be reconciled to them. He therefore offered them a general pardon, together with a considerable sum of money, if they should submit. The distribution of the money was left to the Earl of Breadalbane, but the Highlanders were not satisfied with the manner in which he carried it out. The pacification, therefore, of the tribes remained incomplete. In August, 1691, it was determined to bring matters to a conclusion. A proclamation was issued, offering a pardon to all those who should make their submission before December 31st; if any refused they were to be punished by fire and sword. The Macdonalds of Glencoe waited till the last. They had given a great deal of trouble, and had a special quarrel with Breadalbane. They had, however, no intention of resisting, but only of making their submission as tardy as possible. On the last day of the year, MacIan, the head of the clan, presented himself at Fort William to take the oaths. Unfortunately, there was no one there who could administer them. He had, therefore, to make his way to Inveraray, where he did not arrive till January 6th. The sheriff was reluctant to break the law, the terms of which were precise, but on MacIan begging him to relent, with tears in his eyes, he consented to administer the oaths. He sent a special report of the case to Edinburgh. Unfortunately, the fact that the Macdonalds had not submitted was well known, and it gave particular pleasure to Argyll and Breadalbane, who had their own reasons for hating that clan. The Master of Stair also was not sorry to have an opportunity of giving a lesson to the Highlanders, whom he disliked. Apparently he adopted underhand means of effecting his object. He suppressed the certificate which had been given by the sheriff to MacIan, saying that it was irregular and of no effect. It was therefore supposed that the Macdonalds had not come in. William, as a mere matter of business signed, probably without reading it, an order which ran as follows: "As for MacIan of Glencoe, and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the other Highlanders, it will be proper for the vindication of public justice to extirpate that set of theives." Even this order did not imply that the tribe in question was to be massacred to a man.

The Master of Stair had other designs. His plan was, as he said, to butcher the whole race of thieves. He carefully studied the geography of the valley, and made plans by which all escape of the fugitives should be barred. He entrusted the carrying out of the design to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, and gave him a body of troops who were principally Campbells. The mode of execution was to be as base and treacherous as the conception of it was wicked. On

February 1st, 1692, a hundred and twenty soldiers of Argyll's regiment, commanded by a captain named Campbell, and a lieutenant named Lindsay, marched to Glencoe. The eldest son of the chief demanded what was meant by their presence in the valley. He was told that all they needed was shelter and hospitality. They were received with great kindness, and lodged in the cottages. For twelve days the soldiers lived on familiar terms with the people of the glen. They played cards and drank French brandy in the long evenings. In the meantime, the officers carefully observed all the passages by which escape could be made. It was determined that the massacre should take place on February 13th, at five o'clock in the morning. Precisely at that hour, Campbell dragged ten of his hosts out of their beds, bound them hand and foot, and murdered them. Even a boy twelve years old was shot dead. At another place, eight Highlanders sitting



THE LIGHTHOUSE, HOWTH, DUBLIN.

round the fire were shot down by a volley of musketry. Lindsay knocked at the chief's door and called him out; as soon as he appeared he was shot down. His wife was assaulted in such a manner that she died the next day, Notwithstanding all the precautions that were taken, a number contrived to escape. Among these were the sons of MacIan, who had been especially destined to slaughter. When Hamilton arrived, he found that the work had not been half performed. One old man, over seventy, who was too infirm to fly, and who had been saved on purpose, he slew with his own hand. The cottages were then set on fire, and the troops departed, carrying with them many sheep and goats, nine hundred cattle, and two hundred ponies. The story of the massacre did not become known till some time after its execution. Unfortunately, it was only the last of many similar outrages. There had been, up to this time, a settled policy of exterminating the Highlanders. This was done by granting letters of fire and sword to one

tribe in order to make war upon another. The horror excited by these treacherous murders stopped this policy for the future, and paved the way for the interest and pride with which the Highlanders are regarded at the present time.

Just at this moment, James determined to make a serious attempt on England. In December, 1691, Louis XIV. asked him what he really expected to gain by such an attempt, and he replied that if it were done at once he expected that he would be restored to the throne; that the English Government, so strong in outward appearance, was inwardly weak, and would not be able to maintain itself against the attack of the lawful sovereign. He said, "Let me but once set foot on the soil of England, and the country is mine." He also reminded Louis that the interests of France were bound up in his cause, that the allies were only able to carry on the war by the assistance of English gold. Louis was not satisfied with this information, but he tried to ascertain the feeling of England by independent means. He asked a number of questions of French sympathisers in this country with regard to the pecuniary condition of England and the state of the army. The answers to these questions appear to have confirmed him in his design. He learnt that the fleet would not be ready for sea before June, and that the land force was in the Low Countries, that there were very few troops in England. Fortified by this information, Louis devoted a force



BARRINGTON'S HOSPITAL, LIMERICK.

of thirty thousand men for the invasion of England, under Marshal Bellefonds. He was so certain of success that he not only named Bellefonds commander of the forces, but appointed him ambassador at the court of King James.

During the months of April and May, 1692, the coasts of northern France were as full of preparations for war as they were a century later. Bellefonds was full of hope. He declared that he had good infantry and excellent cavalry. He spoke well of the Irish officers, especially Sarsfield, who was anxious to retrieve the disaster of the campaign in Ireland. A large fleet of men-of-war and transports were assembled in the port of La Hogue. The officers of the army were anticipating the moment when they should embark on board ship, set foot on the shore of England, and be able to ride through London. They believed that the moment James appeared a large body of people would rally round him. The whole nation would follow the example, and the revolution of 1688 would be promptly reversed. James imagined that on the first sign of success a deputation

would come to him from the city of London, asking him to resume his throne. When William III. heard that the invasion was imminent, he ordered the embarkation of fresh regiments for the Continent to be stopped, and the English fleet to be collected at once. The militia was called out in all the counties of the seaboard. Papists who were suspected of treachery were disarmed, as well as all those who had refused to take the oath of allegiance. Marlborough was sent to the Tower. The English fleet came together at the Isle of Wight, on May 10th. News soon arrived that the Dutch fleet was at sea, and was preparing to join the English. The English preparations were so formidable that it became clear that no enterprise could be attempted until Tourville had swept the allied fleets from the narrow seas. That admiral had been seen off Plymouth, but without transports.

In the meantime, Louis XIV. had undertaken the siege of Namur. He



VIEW OF DUBLIN FROM PHOENIX PARK.

evidently expected that a quarrel would break out between the Dutch and English fleets, and also that it was probable that Russell, who commanded the English fleet, would take the side of James. This latter hope was not altogether without foundation. He kept up a vigorous correspondence with James. He assured him, with some inconsistency, that he was ready, if possible, to keep the allied fleets out of the way in order to give James an opportunity of landing; but that if they came to an engagement he would not spare even James himself. In fact, even had he desired to neglect his duty, he could not have done so. The spirit of the captains whom he commanded was excellent, and they were fully backed up by the sailors. On May 18th the allied fleet set sail from the Isle of Wight and made for Cape La Hague. It was known that the transports were collected there, and it was inferred that the fleet was certain to go there also, in order to convoy them to England.

Just at this moment, Tourville arrived at the same spot from the opposite direction. Russell commanded ninety sail of the line, manned by thirty or forty thousand seamen, the largest armament which had appeared in the Channel since the Spanish Armada. Tourville, on his side, had only sixty-three ships, but he had been ordered to engage the enemy at all hazards. He did not know of the junction of the Dutch, and he still hoped that Russell would desert. On May 19th the weather was calm and foggy. Russell formed in line. Tourville, in the *Soleil Royal*, bore down on the English flagship, the *Britannia*. After an hour and a half's firing, the French ship had to be towed off disabled. A wind sprang up, which was favourable to the English. They broke through the French line of battle, and the French scattered and fled for their shores. A thick fog covered their retreat. Next morning Russell started in pursuit. About twenty ships escaped through the Race of Alderney and took refuge in St. Malo. Others ran into Cherbourg, where they were burnt. King James, at La Hogue, wished to organise a further resistance, but this was impossible. There was nothing to be done but to run the ships ashore, in order to save the crews and the equipment. During the next two days the ships and transports were attacked by Vice-Admiral Rooke, and burnt to the water's edge. Thus King James saw the very ships which were to have conducted him to England consumed before his eyes. Feeling that fortune was against him, and that nothing but ill-luck dogged the footsteps of himself and his friends, he besought Louis to leave him to his fate; but this course the chivalry of the French king at once repudiated. Such was the course of the great battle of La Hogue. It lasted for five days, from May 19th to May 24th, and ended in the entire destruction of the French.

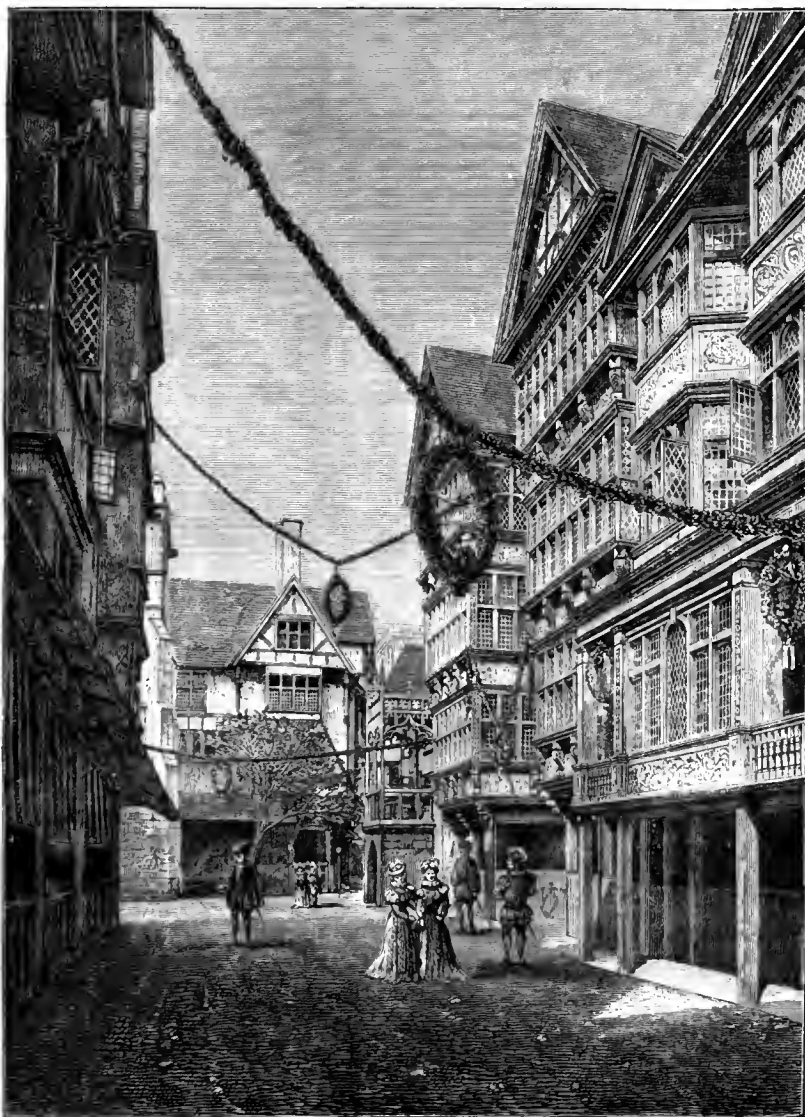
In the meantime, Louis XIV., who had left Versailles on May 1st, had appeared before Namur on May 16th, and prepared to attack the town, in concert with the great engineer, Vauban. Trenches were opened and were ready on the very day of the battle of La Hogue, and the firing was begun on the following evening. The roar of the French cannon was answered by a similar noise from the English camp. They were the salutes which celebrated the victory of La Hogue. Louis, undaunted by this reverse, persevered in his efforts, and the town fell on June 30th. It was reckoned to be one of the strongest fortresses in Europe. The taking of Namur was regarded as the most brilliant achievement of Louis, and was held to outweigh the disgrace of La Hogue. The French king returned to Versailles in triumph. On the other hand, William, who was marching to relieve the fortress, was terribly annoyed that it was taken before his arrival. He attempted to redress the balance by an attack on Mons, but in this he was foiled. A culminating misfortune was the battle of Steinkirk, fought on July 24th. William, having deceived Luxemburg by false information, succeeded in his first attack. The French lines were broken through and a battery taken. Luxemburg, however, was equal to the occasion. He quickly roused his troops, while the enemy was obstructed by broken ground. The battle was long and severe. Seven thousand fell on either side, and William was forced to confess that he was beaten. He, however, retired in good order, and thus

prevented the retreat from becoming disastrous. The English attempted a descent on the French coast under Schomberg and Ruvigny, in imitation of the design of James. The expedition, however, was badly planned, and the commanders were at variance with each other. The news of the defeat at Steinkirk still further disheartened them. The idea of attacking the coast of France was given up, and the fleet sailed to Ostend, from whence the troops marched and attacked Dunkirk; but the whole movement remained without result. The effect of this was that Russell quarrelled with Nottingham, and retired from the command of the navy.

William returned to England on October 18th, and Parliament met on November 4th. Notwithstanding the victory of La Hogue, the feeling of the nation was depressed. The most urgent matter was the supply of money, and a land tax was instituted for this purpose. It lasted until the year 1798, when instead of varying with the value of the produce, it was made a fixed charge, and was allowed to be redeemed by payment of a sum down. This arrangement has made it difficult to use this method of taxation in later times. A step of still greater importance was adopted by the creation of the National Debt. The plan of raising money by loan, which was to be repaid in successive years, was already known in other countries. It was determined, chiefly by the advice of Montague, to adopt this plan in England. A sum of a million pounds was to be borrowed at ten per cent. from a number of annuitants. As each annuitant died, his share was to be divided among the survivors. At last, when only seven were left, the money was to revert to the State. Taxes were imposed to provide for the interest. This system of annuities was called a "tontine." When a similar loan was established a hundred years later, it was found that the expectation of life had increased by ten years. By this time it has probably increased ten years more. The National Debt, although it forms a useful method of safe investment, has become a heavy burden upon the country. Beginning at one million in 1693, it rose to fifty millions at the peace of Utrecht, to a hundred and forty millions under Chatham, and to eight hundred millions under William Pitt. An attempt was also made to render Parliament a more efficient expression of the feeling of the nation. It was proposed to exclude from the House of Commons placemen who were directly under the influence of the Crown, and also to limit the duration of Parliament to three years. Neither measure, however, became law. The first Bill was rejected by the House of Lords, and the second was annulled by the veto of the King.

A further attempt was made to strengthen the Government by the formation of a cabinet, that is, a committee of the Privy Council, which was more manageable than so large a body could be. Sunderland, who was now for the first time received at court, advised William to give his confidence to the Whig party alone, and no longer to attempt to govern by a mixed administration of Whigs and Tories. William, although he assented to this proposal in principle, could not carry it out at once. Somers, who was a strong Whig, was appointed Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, but the entire plan was not effected till four years later, when for the first time the ministry became wholly Whig. Parliament was prorogued on March 14th, 1693.

William shortly after left for Holland, and joined the allied army. The campaign of this year was not decisive, and matters remained at the end of it much as they were at the beginning. In Piedmont the French and Italian troops gained no decisive advantage over one another. Louis attempted to take Liège, as



OLD LONDON STREET.

in the previous year he had taken Namur, but William, by speedy movements, was enabled to defend it, and made it so formidable that the French king hesitated to attack, and returned to Versailles without having effected anything. William, however, had to fight a battle at Neerwinden, on July 29th, where, after a terrible struggle and twelve hours' fighting, he was compelled to retire. As on the

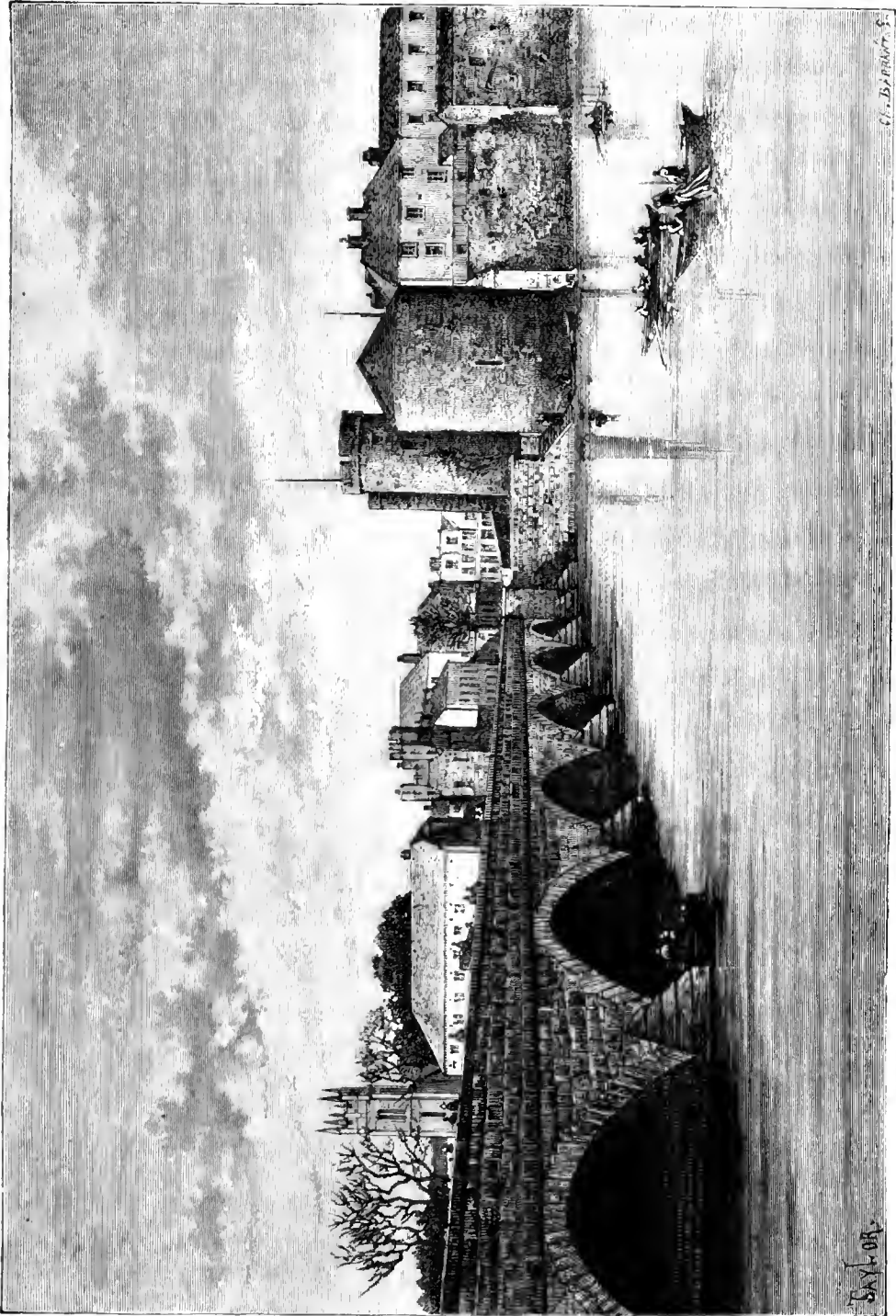
previous occasion, he conducted his retreat so skilfully, as to be more like a victory. He was soon able to take the field, and felt that he had held his own. This conflict is also known as the battle of Landen. Unfortunately, there was a terrible disaster at sea. The Smyrna fleet, of four hundred merchantmen, was lying at Portsmouth waiting for an escort. It was at first conducted by Admiral Killigrew, who left it shortly afterwards to Admiral Rooke. On his way he unexpectedly fell in with a great French fleet which Tourville brought out of the Bay of Lagos. He did his best to sustain the unequal conflict, but a large number of merchantmen fell into Tourville's hands. He burnt forty-nine of them, and took seventeen as prizes. This was a great blow to the financial prosperity of England, which was already suffering serious reverses.

Parliament met on November 7th, 1693. Russell was made First Lord of the Admiralty, and, at a later period, Montague became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Russell and Montague were Whigs, and, together with Somers and Wharton, became what was called the "Whig junto"—that is, a body of men who are accustomed to take council together. Only two important affairs were treated of during this session. The first matter had reference to the trade of the East Indies. The old East India Company, which was mainly Tory, had just obtained a charter. A new company, principally Whig, attempted to obtain similar privileges. Instead of this being done, a vote was passed that all English subjects had an equal right to trade to that country, and especially prohibited Acts of Parliament. Another important step was the establishment of a Bank of England. This expedient, like that of the National Debt, was borrowed from the Dutch. It was said in Holland that so long as England did not set up a bank, Dutch commerce would remain ahead of English commerce. One of the principal founders of the bank was William Paterson, a Scotchman, who was afterwards the promoter of the Darien scheme. Paterson had for many years urged the establishment of a bank similar to that of St. George's at Venice, which was in the habit of circulating paper money, on the security of the capital deposited with it. He met with much opposition. There was a fear lest the bank should become too powerful. Also, Paterson was a Whig, and the Tory country gentlemen were afraid of too rapid a development of commerce. The money difficulties of the times were now so great that all party considerations gave way before them. A loan of £1,200,000 was required for the defence of the country. The only way to obtain it was to organise the subscribers as a corporation under the title of the Bank of England. It was settled that the capital should not be repaid till 1795, and if repaid then, that the Company should be dissolved. The bank was to undertake no loans excepting such as were guaranteed on parliamentary revenues. Montague, who had learnt finance in the school of Isaac Newton, strongly supported the bill. It passed the Commons on April 18th, 1694, and the Lords a week later by a small majority. It proved a great assistance, both to the Government and to English commerce. It made it possible to anticipate both loans and taxes, and it rendered those who lent money to the nation interested in its support.

The money provided by the Bank of England made it possible to carry on the



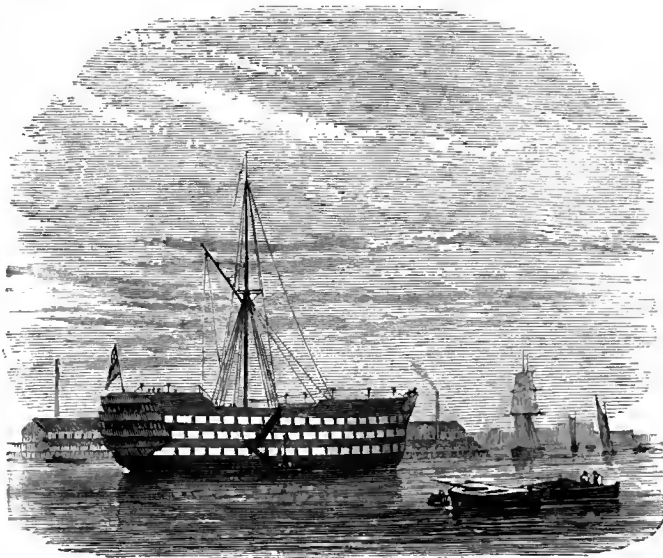
war with renewed vigour. The army which William commanded in the Low



LIMERICK: THOMOND'S BRIDGE AND KING JOHN'S CASTLE.

Countries was larger than had ever been seen before, while the French army

opposed to it, under Marshal Luxemburg, was nearly as numerous. The campaign, however, was chiefly remarkable for the skill with which the two antagonists eluded each other. William congratulated himself on having escaped a defeat like those of the two previous years, while the French were glad not to have been overcome by a superior force. There were, however, serious disasters at sea. The unfortunate Smyrna fleet, on its return from the East, was caught by a storm in the Mediterranean, and suffered serious loss. A worse misfortune was the defeat of an expedition sent against Brest, commanded by Admiral the Earl of Berkeley and General Talmash. It was hoped that they would take the place by surprise, but, unfortunately, there were traitors in the English camp. Marlborough and Godolphin—to their shame be it spoken—had conveyed previous intelligence to the French. When the English landed on the coast, they were received by two



THE NAVAL HOSPITAL-SHIP AT GREENWICH.

batteries, whose existence they had not suspected. Almost every one who ventured on shore was killed, and General Talmash died of his wounds. Notwithstanding this defeat, the English fleet held command of the Channel. It reduced Dieppe almost to ashes and alarmed Havre, St. Malo, Calais, and Dunkirk. The enemy was everywhere afraid of a sudden descent on the coast of the Netherlands. At the same time, Admiral Russell appeared in the Mediterranean. He relieved Barcelona, blockaded Toulon, and kept the Duke of Savoy firm to the Grand Alliance.

Parliament met once more on November 12th, 1694. The King was in want of money, and asked that the grant of tonnage and poundage, which had been given to the Crown for a limited time, should be renewed. He obtained his request, and the tax was re-established for five years. The King on his side made a great concession; he gave the consent which he had previously refused to the bill for

triennial parliaments, which provided that parliaments should not last more than three years, and that not more than three years should elapse without a parliament being called. Six days after this, on December 28th, 1694, Queen Mary died of small-pox, in the thirty-third year of her age. William was entirely overwhelmed with grief; for many weeks he was quite unable to attend to business. She had been a most devoted wife, a great help to her husband. A saying was current, which ran as follows: "The King thinks all, the Queen says all, and the Parliament does all." She made herself beloved, not only by the virtues of a woman, but by the depth of her character and strength of mind. By belonging to the ancient stock she greatly strengthened the King's position. The King never left her during her illness, although she died of so loathsome a disease. It was found after his death that he had always worn a lock of her hair. William's position as monarch was much weakened by Mary's death, but it was strengthened by two unexpected results which followed it. William became reconciled to Princess Anne, who was the next heir, and with Princess Anne to Marlborough. After Mary's death Marlborough never wavered in his devotion to the Protestant succession. The Queen's name was left out of the Great Seal, and the years of the King's reign were dated from his accession. The establishment of the naval hospital at Greenwich had been an object very dear to Mary's heart; she intended it as a memorial of the victory of La Hogue. William carried out her wishes with pious care, and everyone who sails down the Thames may now gaze at it as a memorial both of English glory and marital love.





## CHAPTER III.

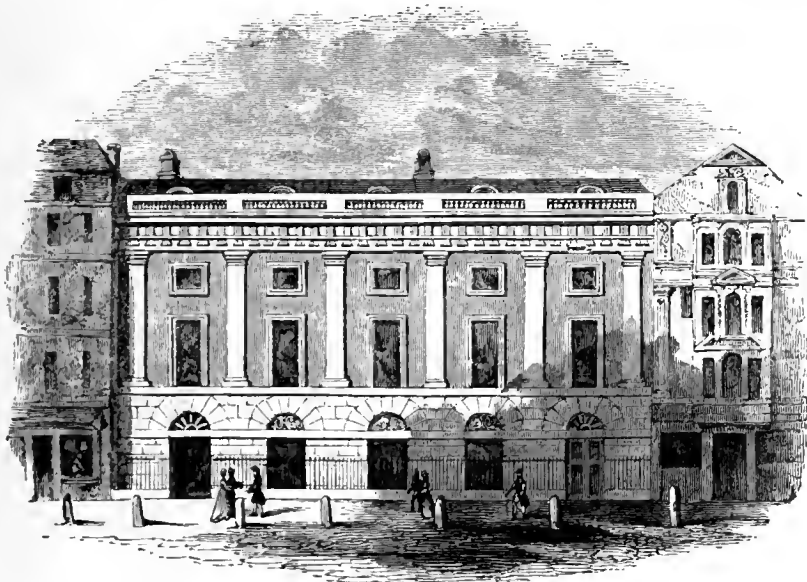
### WILLIAM III.



THE early part of the year 1695 witnessed the refusal of the House of Commons to renew the Licensing Act. This Act was first passed in 1662, soon after the Restoration, and was renewed from time to time. It vested the entire control of printing in the Government. It provided that printing should only be carried on in London, York, and at the Universities, and that the number of master printers should never exceed twenty. By it the Secretary of State was empowered to issue warrants for discovering and seizing libels against the Government. This Act, which had been renewed without debate in 1685, expired in 1693, but its renewal was only carried after a sharp discussion. The severity of the nature of the restrictions on publication varied with the politics of the licenser. Under Charles II. and James II. he was a Tory. At the Revolution a Whig was appointed; but when the Tories obtained the upper hand in Parliament, he was supplanted by a member of that party named Edmund Bohun. His proceedings were so unpopular that the law was only renewed in 1693 for two years. The Lords and Commons differed as to its further prolongation, and the question was discussed by a Committee of both Houses. The session closed before they could come to a decision, and the matter was then dropped. It thus happened that the emancipation of literature from parliamentary control was the result of an accident. Towards the end of the session an inquiry was made into the conduct of the Duke of Leeds, better known as the Earl of Danby, but he was created Marquis of Carmarthen after the Revolution, and Duke in 1694. At this time it was found that he had received a bribe of five thousand guineas for helping to pass, as President of the Council, the charter of the new East India Company. He was impeached in the ordinary manner, but the process fell to the ground by the prorogation of Parliament at the beginning of May. His guilt, however, was quite clear, and he was deprived of his office. Godolphin was now the only Tory remaining in the Cabinet. The last measure passed in this Parliament was an Act to restrain and punish bribery in parliamentary elections.

The summer was spent as usual in the campaign against the French. Although the war was raging in Catalonia, Piedmont, and on the Upper Rhine, the

eyes of Europe were turned towards the struggle in the Netherlands. Marshals Villeroy and Boufflers took the place of Luxemburg. William determined to make a serious attack upon Namur, the taking of which had been the great glory of Louis XIV. The fortifications of this town, begun by Cohorn, had been reconstructed by Vauban, but it was taken on August 3rd, after a comparatively short siege. Boufflers, who defended it, withdrew into the citadel, and Villeroy marched to relieve him. William lost no time in throwing himself in his way. On his road he passed over the battlefield of Waterloo, and it is remarkable that the celebrity of that village was anticipated by one hundred and twenty years. He took up so strong a position behind the forest, blockading all the roads which led through it, that Villeroy was afraid to attack him. The bombardment of the citadel began on August 21st, and went on without ceasing day and night, with a terrible

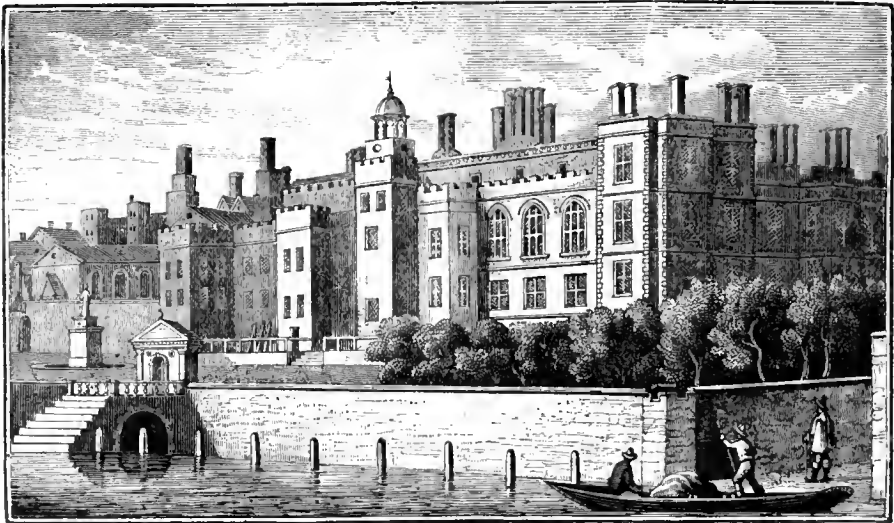


OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE.

fire which shook the very ground. The French defended themselves with much bravery, but on September 5th the citadel was compelled to surrender. The King returned to England somewhat earlier than usual, in triumph. He dissolved Parliament the very evening after his return, and spent the interval before its meeting in visiting different country houses. He stayed with Sunderland at Althorp, and gave a prize for the races at Newmarket.

The new Parliament was almost entirely Whig, and contained a large majority for the Government. As many as a hundred and sixty members had never sat before in the House. When Parliament met, on November 22nd, the King in the speech from the throne expressed his satisfaction at the result of the elections. He praised the bravery of the English as shown in the last campaign, and asked for large subsidies for next year in order to push on the war vigorously by sea and land. The consequence of this was that more than five millions was voted for the army

and the navy. In order to place the finances of the country on a solid basis, it was necessary to take into consideration the state of the currency. Until the reign of Charles II. the silver coinage, which was then the standard coinage of the realm, was manufactured by being divided with shears and afterwards shaped and stamped by the hammer. The consequence of this was that the pieces were not of the same size nor exactly round, and they were not marked on the edges. They could, therefore, be easily clipped and filed. Soon after the Restoration machinery was introduced by which the coins were made exactly circular, and the edges were inscribed with a legend. Unfortunately the old coins were not called in, but both kinds circulated together. The milled coins were twice the value of the old ones. They were therefore melted down and reissued in the old pattern. Terrible confusion arose from this circumstance. The bank of Amsterdam at one



OLD SOMERSET HOUSE.

time prohibited the circulation of English silver. It was reckoned that out of five millions and a half of silver coinage in circulation, four millions had been clipped or filed. Gold rose so much in value that a guinea was sold for thirty shillings. All attempts to suppress the clippers by penal enactments failed. The only effective remedy was to fix a day after which the value of the hammered money should be reckoned by weight. The question was on whom should the loss fall, the individual or the State. A compromise was adopted, by which proclamations were issued on the same day in every part of the kingdom, announcing that hammered coins would in future pass only by weight, but that those who paid them in within three days should receive the standard value. In addition to this, a Recoinage Act was passed, chiefly by the influence of Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer. By this it was provided that the money of the kingdom should be recoinced according to the old standard both of weight and fineness, that all new pieces should be milled, and that the loss on the clipped

pieces, which was estimated at £1,200,000, should be met by taxation. Finally it was determined that no clipped money should pass or be received by Government in payment of taxes after May 4th, 1696.

The next measure of the new Parliament was to consider the law which regulated trials for treason. It was determined that the prisoner was to have a copy of the indictment five days, and a list of the jury two days, before the trial; that the accused might be defended by a counsel, and have their witnesses examined on oath. No person was to be tried for treason except on the evidence of two witnesses, both of the same act, with the proviso that two separate acts of the same treason might be substantiated by separate witnesses. Further, no person was to be indicted for treason except within three years of the offence, unless the charge was that of an attempted assassination of the King.

Strange to say, before this Act came into effect, an assassination plot was discovered, which was tried under the old Act for the last time. This plot was connected with the general Catholic and European opposition to William as the Protestant King of England. William's position was greatly weakened by the death of Queen Mary. A large number of the nobility were believed to be in favour of James. The greater part of the army was in the Low Countries, and only a small number of troops had been left in England. The fleet was laid up in harbour. The French made secret preparations for invasion. Eighteen regiments of foot and five of horse were placed under the Marquis of Harcourt, and about five hundred transports were got ready for the purpose. The preparations were kept a profound secret. James pawned some of the Crown jewels. On March 1st, he proceeded to Calais, where the French fleet was collected. Louis XIV., however, determined to act with caution. He declined to interfere unless there was a previous rising in England, and unless the party of King James had got hold of a harbour or some other strong position. But on the other hand the English Jacobites were unwilling to rise until the French appeared upon the coast. Thus each party was waiting for the other, and the whole scheme came to an ignominious end.

Closely connected with these attempts was the plot of Sir George Barclay to assassinate William. He was a Scotch gentleman who had served under Dundee. He was entrusted with a commission, in the handwriting of James, authorising him to do anything against William which might conduce to James's service. Armed with this letter, Barclay went secretly to London and put himself in communication with Robert Charlock, who had been educated at Oxford, but had joined the Church of Rome. Charlock had formed the design of assisting the landing of James, by securing the Prince of Orange. Barclay showed Charlock his commission, and argued that it authorised an attack on William's person. The plot was joined by a number of old soldiers, such as Major Lowick, Captains Fisher, Porter, and Knightly, together with a number of others who had formerly been in the King's bodyguard. They declared they had no intention of assassination. They regarded the murder of William as an act of open war against the enemy of James. William was in the habit of going to hunt every Saturday in Richmond

Park. He rode from Kensington to Turnham Green, where he took boat and



ENGLISH HOUSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

crossed to the other side. A separate body of guards attended him on each bank.

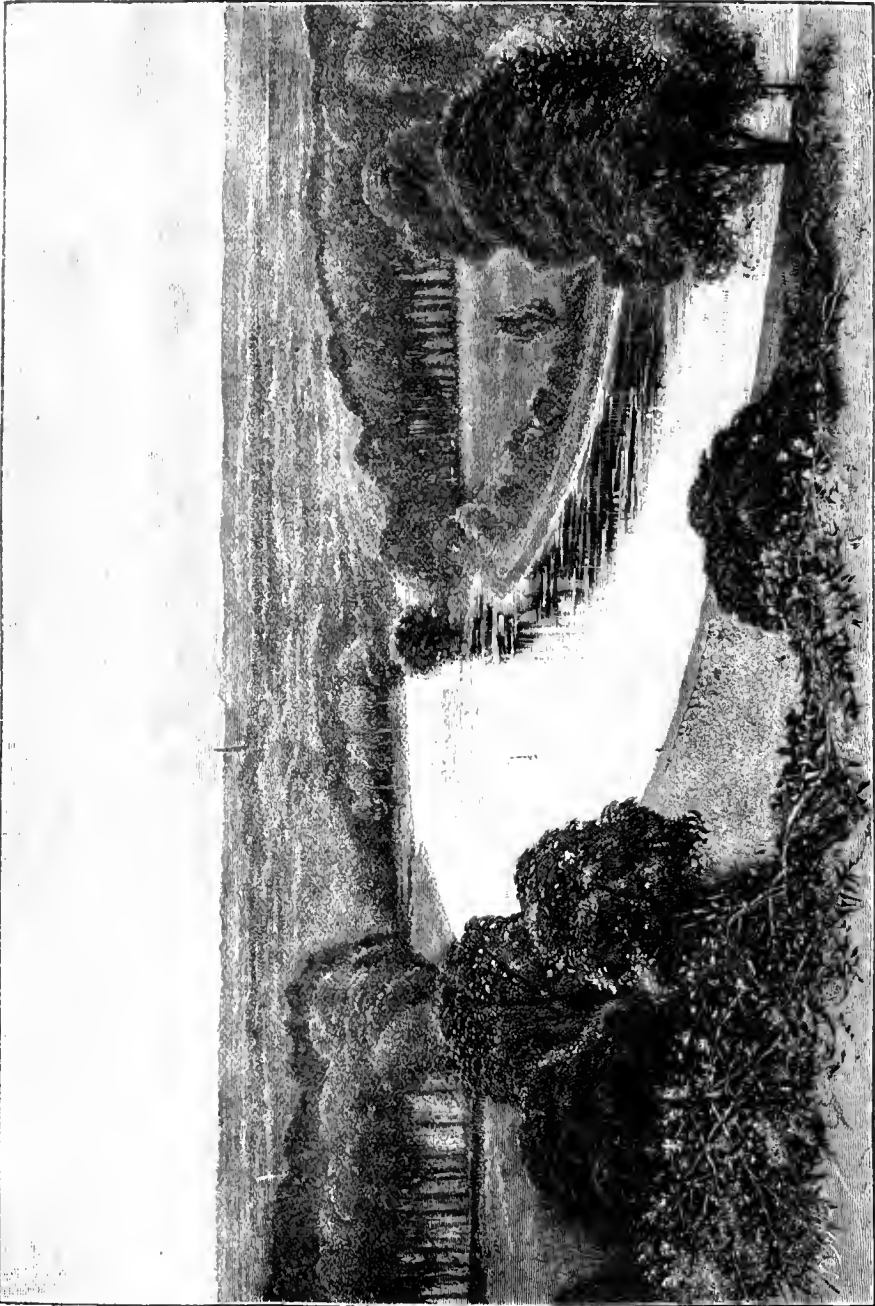


They determined to attack William on his return. Barclay with eight soldiers was to stop the coach and murder the King, while the rest were to attack the guards. The day fixed was Saturday, February 15th. James awaited the result at Calais. On the evening of February 14th an Irish Roman Catholic, by name Prendergrass, reported the whole matter to Bentinck, Earl of Portland, who was an intimate personal friend of the King. William, who was with great difficulty persuaded to put off the hunting party, now heard of the preparations of the French, and of the presence of James at Calais. Not a moment was to be lost. The conspirators were arrested, and measures were taken to defend the country; but the danger was past by the discovery of the plot. The French troops were disbanded, and James returned to St. Germain. William III. came down to the Houses of Parliament on February 24th, to request their co-operation in the common safety. The Habeas Corpus Act was immediately suspended. A resolution was passed that Parliament should not be dissolved by William's death, and an instrument was signed by which they recognised William as rightful and lawful king, and pledged themselves that if he were to perish by a violent death they would revenge him on his enemies and their supporters. This document was called The Association. It was agreed that no one who refused to subscribe it should be eligible for public office, and that anyone who declared it illegal should be treated as an enemy to the liberties of the country and as a supporter of James II. Eight of the conspirators were executed.

The case of Sir John Fenwick demands fuller notice. He had been deeply engaged in the scheme for the French invasion, and was arrested just as he was preparing to sail for France. Brought to London, he strongly denied the charges brought against him, until a letter was produced written to his wife which contained an admission of his guilt. Unable to answer, he offered to disclose all he knew, and wrote out a long confession which accused Marlborough, Russell, Shrewsbury, and Godolphin of treason, as well as others who were now hearty in their support of William. By this means he hoped to obtain pardon for himself and to throw confusion into the ranks of his enemies. William behaved with great magnanimity, and assured the persons accused that Fenwick's charges would make no difference in his treatment of them. Fenwick was brought up before the bar of the House of Commons, but refused to give any further information, except on the condition of a full pardon, on which a resolution was passed that the confession was false and scandalous. As one of the witnesses against him had disappeared, it was impossible to convict him of treason. A Bill of Attainder was therefore brought in, and it was made a party question between Whigs and Tories. It did not receive the royal assent till January 11th, 1697. A fortnight later, Fenwick was executed on Tower Hill.

The same struggle between Whigs and Tories affected even the settlement of purely financial questions. The Tories regarded the Bank of England as representing the Whig, or the monied interest, and they determined to set up a bank of their own on the basis of the land. By the influence of Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, it received a charter on the promise of lending two millions and a

half to the Government at seven per cent. There was at this time a pressing demand for money. The King on going to Holland had been compelled to buy gold



VIEW FROM RICHMOND HILL.

at a higher price. Paper became almost worthless. The pressure of the foreign war was very severe. It was absolutely necessary that money should be forthcoming for the payment of the troops. The King wrote to say that if the Treasury

did not send him money he could not keep his army together. The new Land Bank had not met with the success which it expected. It asked leave to carry on business with the old debased coin, but this the Treasury refused. The Land Bank was only able to raise forty thousand pounds for the King's necessities. The assistance which the new bank was unable to give was afforded at great sacrifice by the Bank of England, who thus rendered an important service to the country. The triumph of the Bank of England was also the triumph of the Whigs. The confessions of Sir John Fenwick were a further blow to the Tories.

In the meantime strenuous efforts were made for the issue of the new coinage. The great Isaac Newton was appointed Master of the Mint. Local mints were established at Bristol, York, Exeter, Norwich, and Chester, but the new milled coins did not circulate, because it was hoped that the standard would be lowered. The

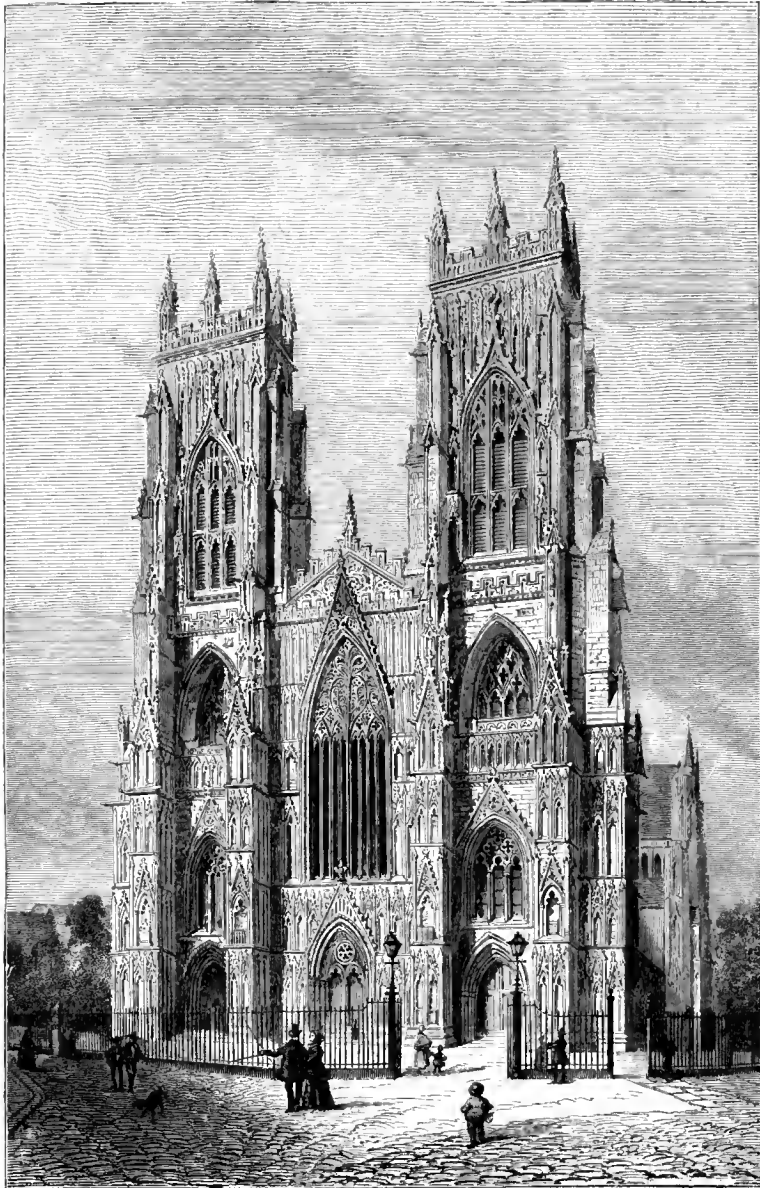


RICHMOND HILL.

first act of Parliament on its assembling in October, 1696, was to pass a resolution that the standard of money should not be altered in fineness, weight, or denomination. This restored public confidence, and the new money soon began to flow from its secret repositories. The session closed on April 16th, 1697.

By the retirement of Lord Godolphin in October, 1696, the ministry became entirely Whig. He was succeeded by Montague, while Russell, now Earl of Orford, Somers and Wharton, made up with him the "Whig junto." We now approach a resting-point in the great struggle between William and Louis XIV. In the first years of the war William had refused all negotiations. The great object of the allies was to re-establish the state of Europe in the conditions fixed by the Peace of Westphalia and the Treaty of the Pyrenees. All encroachments of French power must be given up, and the claims of the house of Austria to the Spanish succession maintained. This plan was rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the defection of Savoy, and William therefore determined that he would be

contented with smaller claims on Louis XIV. He therefore set before himself the object of compelling the French to make such concessions as the Emperor might be persuaded to accept. The two most important of these were the restoration by the French of the annexations they had made since the Peace of



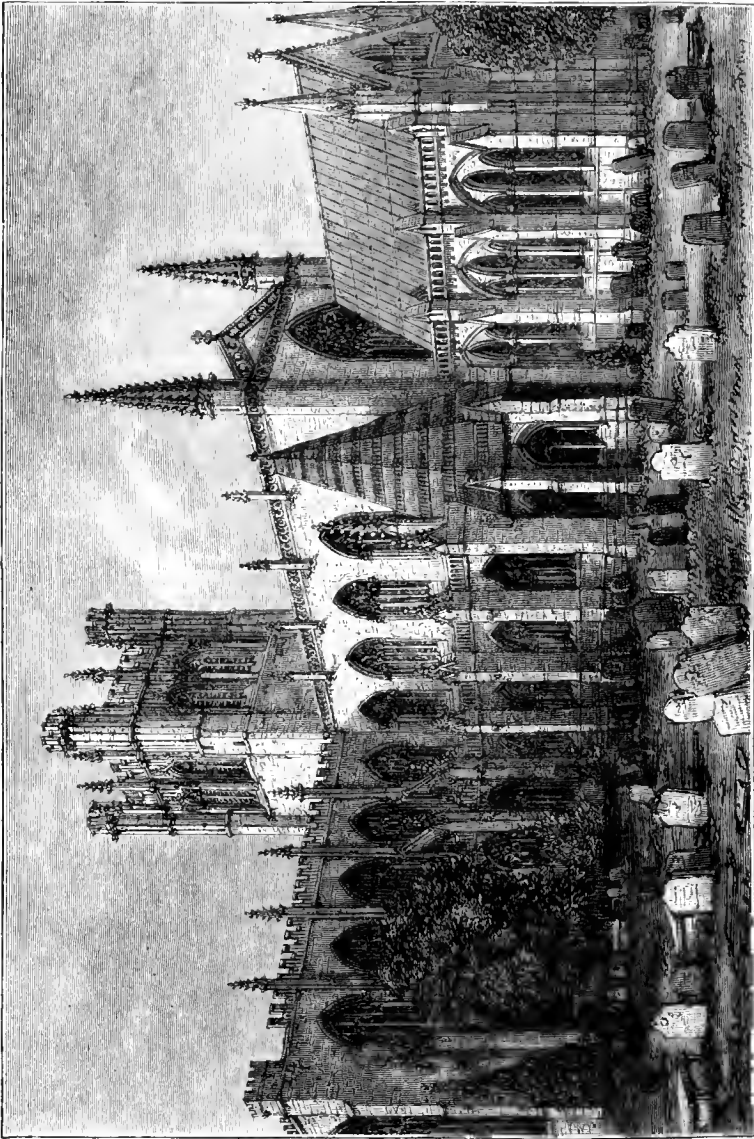
YORK CATHEDRAL.

Nimeguen and the acknowledgment of William as King of England. Sweden offered itself as a mediating power, and a congress was opened at Ryswick on May 9th, 1697. Strangely enough, the campaign still went on, although both sides were obviously anxious to do as little harm as possible to their opponents,

The most difficult question that was to be settled was the attitude which Louis XIV. should hold towards King James. William insisted that anything short of the absolute surrender of James II. would not satisfy him or the English people. William demanded that Louis should promise not to support King James, either directly or indirectly, but to banish the Pretender from his dominions if his presence there seemed likely to encourage a conspiracy. The reply of the French king to this demand was decisive as to peace and war. At first Louis absolutely rejected the demand. He refused to promise to withhold his support, direct or indirect, as inconsistent with his honour. On the other hand, he acknowledged that William must be secured against Jacobite plots, and offered to add to his promise not to support the enemies of William the words "without any exception," so that James should be included. He also added that he would assist no rebellion in England, nor any factions or cabals. This concession really brought about peace. In addition, the principality of Orange, in France, was restored to William, on the condition that it should not be a harbouring-place for French refugees. William's next step was to persuade the allies to accept the preliminaries. The Spaniards offered little difficulty, but the Emperor was less inclined to give way. He demanded a cession of Strasburg, which Louis refused to give up. However, he surrendered a considerable part of the annexations, or reunions, as they were called, which he had occupied since the Peace of Nimeguen, and with this the Emperor had to be content. The effect of the peace was that William III., who had once been contemptuously spoken of as "the little Lord of Breda," now held a position superior even to that of Louis himself.

After the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick, Parliament met on December 3rd, 1697. The first matter brought before them was the reduction of the army. According to the Bill of Rights, a standing army could not be maintained without the consent of Parliament, and there was some fear lest that consent should be withheld now that the war was over. The King in his speech from the throne declared that England could not be without a permanent military establishment. However, in the debate upon the Address, Robert Harley moved and carried a resolution that the army should be reduced to the strength which it had in the year 1680, that is, about six thousand five hundred men. One reason for this was an irritation felt by some expressions in the King's speech, which were ascribed to Sunderland, who held the office of Lord Chamberlain of the Household. In order to divert the wrath of the Commons, he resigned his post on December 26th, and eventually supply was voted for an army of ten thousand men, while half pay was granted to the disbanded soldiers. Another matter which created considerable feeling arose from the grants of land given by the King to foreign favourites. In thus acting, William was only following the example of his two immediate predecessors, while many of his Dutch friends had undoubtedly been extremely active in securing him the crown. It was proposed to annul these grants, but on further consideration those who were most interested in the matter thought it best to drop the subject. Another matter of importance in this Parliament was the condition of the East India Company. Parliament had

declared that trade to India was free and open, but this was of no advantage to the Interlopers, as they were called, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, because the Indian seas were entirely in the hands of the Company. The old Company now offered a sum of seven hundred thousand pounds for the renewal of its monopoly, but Montague wished to obtain a larger sum, and to establish a new Company.



CHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Political differences also entered into the discussion. The old Company was strongly Tory. The supporters of the new Company, and the Interlopers, were Whigs. There was also a difference of opinion as to the principle on which a new Company should be formed, some desiring that it should trade on a joint stock, and others that the members should contribute to a common fund, while each

traded on his own account. Montague proposed that the new corporation should be formed on the latter basis, while all or any of its members might unite themselves under a royal charter for the purpose of trading in common. This would be a compromise between the two schemes of a joint stock and a regulated company. This plan was violently opposed, but the Bill effecting it became law in July, 1698, and in a short time the whole of the stock required, to the amount of two millions, was taken up.

The privileges thus obtained by the English for trading to India were not shared by the Irish or Scotch. On the contrary, all efforts of competition on their



OLD CHESTER.

part were regarded with extreme jealousy. This was specially notable in the famous Darien scheme, which brought out in a strong light the inconvenience arising from the separation of England and Scotland. Robert Patterson, who had founded the Bank of England in 1694, conceived the idea of establishing a company which should be to the Scotch what the East India Company was to the English. As we have before shown, this Company possessed a virtual monopoly of the trade round the Cape, and it occurred to Patterson that a shorter commercial route might be made by establishing a colony on the Isthmus of Panama, or Darien. An Act to effect this was passed by the Scotch Parliament in 1698. An African Company was formed, whose directors were half English and half Scotch, with powers to make settlements and build cities, harbours, and fortifications in

Asia, Africa, and America. They were further empowered to make alliances in these parts of the world, to defend themselves if attacked, while all other Scotchmen were prohibited from trading in these districts. The news of this proceeding caused great indignation in England. William was obliged to disavow the action of the commissioners who represented him in the northern kingdom, and to withdraw, as King of England, the privileges which he had granted as King of Scotland. The result of this was that English capital was taken out of the scheme, and that the whole burden was thrown on the Scotch, who subscribed a sum of four hundred thousand pounds, of which only little more than half was actually paid. Patterson had taken care not to reveal the exact spot where his station was to be



OLD CHESTER.

fixed, and even when the fleet was ready to sail its destination was not precisely known. The cargo placed on board seems to have consisted of just the things which would not be required by the inhabitants. Spaniards and Indians dwelling in a tropical climate were not likely to want huge periwigs, heavy woollen stuffs, and English Bibles. After suffering considerable privation on the voyage, the fleet anchored off the Isthmus of Darien, and taking possession of the country, called it New Caledonia. They immediately began to lay the foundations for their city of New Edinburgh. They opened negotiations with the natives, and put into action the representative plan of government which had been decided upon at home. In the meantime the fact of the new settlement became known in Europe. The Spanish Government made complaints through their ambassador, and commenced operations in the Spanish ports for an expedition against the intruders. The unfortunate settlers, unable to work in the tropical heat and unused to tropical food, perished in large numbers, till at last the survivors, notwithstanding the urgent

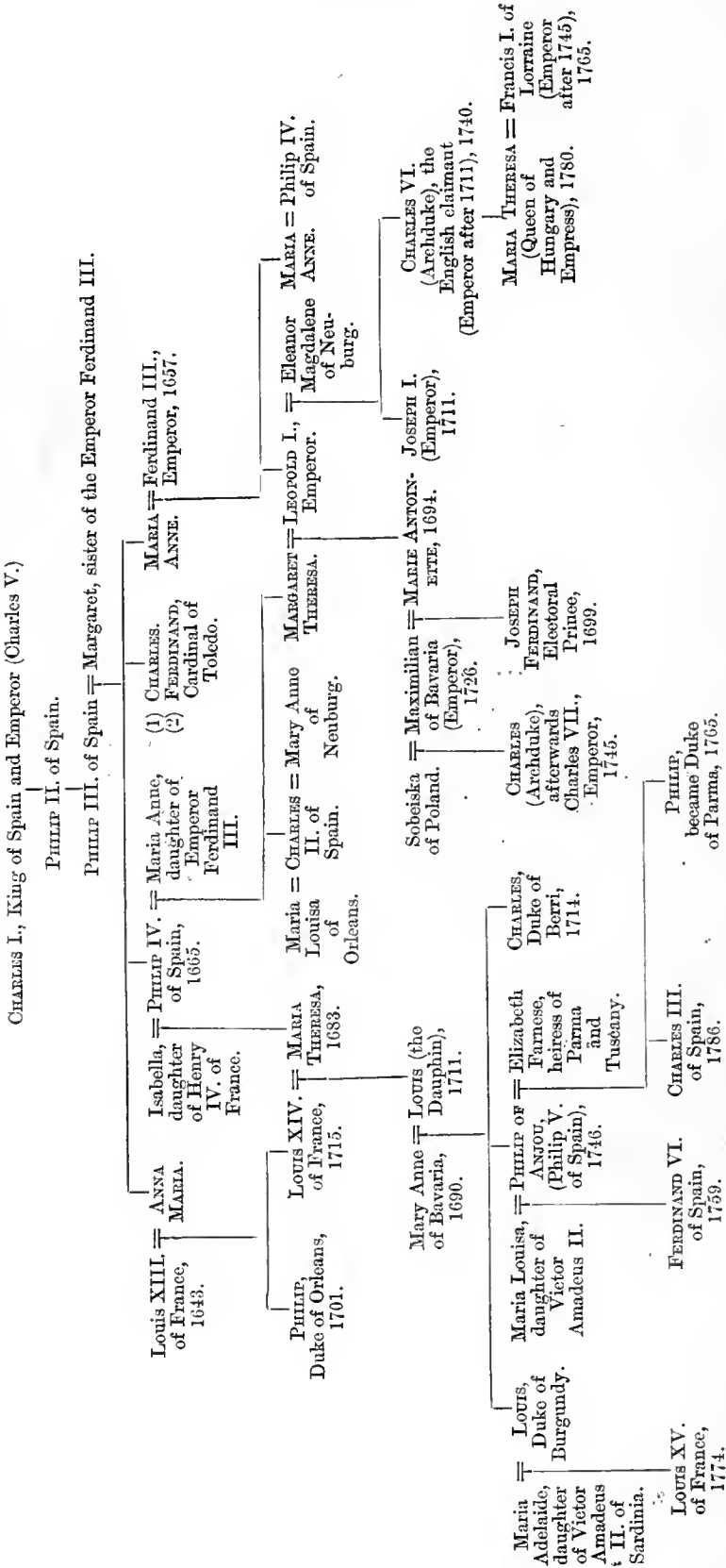


entreaties of Patterson, put off for New York. Unfortunately, enthusiasm for the scheme had not abated in Scotland, and in August, 1699, four more ships were despatched to the Isthmus with thirteen hundred men on board. Arriving four months later, they found the site of New Edinburgh a wilderness. In vain they attempted to reconstruct a colony. Dissension and disease broke out, and in the midst of their misery the Spanish squadron anchored off their walls. Neither the attackers nor the attacked understood each other's language, and the negotiation was conducted with great difficulty. Eventually, by the middle of April, 1700, the rest of the Scotch sailed home, having, in a little more than four months, lost nearly a quarter of their number. The failure of this scheme brought home forcibly to William the inconvenience of Scotland and England being under different Governments, and made him more anxious for that union between the two nations which was finally carried out in the succeeding reign.

We now enter upon the last period of William III.'s reign. The burning question of the Spanish succession was looming in the distance, affecting the peace of Europe. Charles II., king of that country, was without children and in most precarious health. The monarchy over which he reigned consisted not only of Spain and the Indies, but of a large portion of Italy and the Netherlands. The three claimants to the throne were the Dauphin of France, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, and the Emperor Leopold. Their relationships will be clearly understood by the table on next page. The Dauphin of France derived his claim from Maria Theresa, the eldest sister of Charles II. His right would have been without dispute had not his mother, on her marriage with Louis XIV., renounced all claim to the succession for herself and her children. This renunciation received a triple confirmation by the will of Philip IV. her father, by the Spanish courtiers, and by Louis himself. Joseph Ferdinand, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, was the grandson of Margaret Theresa, the younger sister of Charles II. His mother had made a renunciation of her claims to the Spanish throne, but this had not been ratified by the courtiers. The Emperor Leopold based his title on two descents, first, as the direct representative of Philip the Fair and Juana, the father and mother of Charles V., and secondly, on the fact of his mother, Maria Anna, being the daughter of Philip III., who was the legitimate heiress of the Spanish crown after the renunciations of those mentioned above.

There was no doubt that the transference of the whole Spanish monarchy either to France or Austria would endanger the balance of power which was a main object of the statesmen of those days to preserve. Louis therefore offered to transfer the claims of the Dauphin to his younger son, Philip of Anjou; and similarly the Emperor also proposed to surrender his rights to his younger son, the Archduke Charles. After the conclusion of peace Louis opened negotiations with William for the settlement of this question. William was at first in favour of the whole succession passing to the Electoral Prince. When this was objected to, William proposed that Spain and the Indies should go to the French prince, the Italian territories to the Austrian archduke, the Netherlands to the Elector of Bavaria, and that England and Holland should each have some seaports in the

GENEALOGICAL TABLE ILLUSTRATING THE CLAIMS TO THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.



Mediterranean. It is curious that this proposal corresponded very nearly to what was actually carried out by the Peace of Utrecht after a long European war. The final arrangement, however was something different. By the first partition treaty, signed on October 11th, 1698, Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies were assigned to the Electoral Prince, Milan to the Archduke Charles, and the rest of the Spanish dominions in Italy, together with one of the Basque provinces, to the Dauphin. Unfortunately the death of the Electoral Prince by small-pox, on February 5th, 1699, upset all these arrangements.

In the new negotiations which were now necessary, the French proposed that the Archduke should have Spain and the Indies, that the Dauphin should have



OLD WINDSOR.

Milan as well as the other possessions in Italy; and that the Elector of Bavaria, the father of the dead prince, should receive the Spanish Netherlands as an independent state. This would greatly increase the power of France. The most difficult point for William or the Dutch to accept was the formation of the Netherlands into a kingdom which would be virtually dependent upon France. It was therefore stipulated that the Netherlands should go to the Archduke, and that Milan might be assigned to the Duke of Lorraine on the condition of his duchy being incorporated with France. It was intended that this second partition treaty should be kept a profound secret, but it was soon disclosed at Madrid, where it excited the wrath of King Charles II. In October, 1700, he made a will for preserving the integrity of his dominions, and nominated as his successor Philip of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin of France.

A new Parliament was elected in 1698. The results were very unfavourable to the Government. The Opposition fought under three cries: "No standing

army!" "No grants of crown property!" and "No Dutchmen!" The King in his opening speech laid special stress on the question of the standing army. The Opposition voted "No address" in reply to the speech. They carried a resolution, led by Harley, the chief of the Tory party, that the troops should be reduced to seven thousand for England and twelve thousand for Ireland, and that they must all be native-born English. The Tory country gentlemen were afraid that a standing army might endanger the nobility of the land. William, on the other hand, trembled for his position on the Continent. He knew, better than his subjects could know, the critical condition of European complications. It was especially



WELBECK, ONE OF THE DUKE OF PORTLAND'S SEATS.

bitter to him to have to surrender his faithful Dutch guards and the French refugees who had served him so materially. At one time he intended to withdraw from England and to retire to his native country. All efforts to change the purpose of Parliament were in vain. Not being able to obtain more troops he wrote a letter with his own hand to the House of Commons, asking as a personal favour that the Dutch guards might be allowed to remain. This, however, was refused, and he was obliged to give his consent to the Disbanding Act, although in doing so he warned them of the dangers they were running. The Commons presented an address to the Crown, assuring William of their attachment and support, but nothing could induce them to modify their resolution.

Just at this time William lost one of his oldest and most trusted friends. William Bentinck, Earl of Portland, had been attached to the service of the Prince

of Orange since his boyhood. In England he had been the tried confidant of the King. He had formed a means of communication between the cold and distant sovereign and his English subjects, and had been able to give William advice in times of necessity which no one else could have proffered. This close intimacy was now to be broken by a slight misunderstanding. The rooms which Bentinck occupied at Newmarket, close to the royal apartments, were given in his absence to Arnold Joost Van Keppel, a young man of cheerful temper and beautiful person, twenty-three years younger than Portland. When Bentinck returned he



WELBECK. WEST FRONT AND OXFORD WING.

wished to turn Keppel out; but Keppel, having furnished the rooms, refused to move, and William supported him. The consequence of this was that Portland resigned all his appointments about the Court, and no persuasion or kindness on William's part could induce him to change his resolution.

The favour shown by William to his Dutch friends had created great jealousy in England. A large amount of land had been confiscated in Ireland, and had been given by William to these new noblemen. Commissioners were appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the matter, and there was no dispute about the facts that they alleged. The land forfeited in Ireland comprised an area equal in extent to the counties of Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire. It was estimated at the value of four hundred thousand

pounds. In accordance with the Treaty of Limerick, one-quarter of this had been restored to the old proprietors, and they had also received one-seventh of the remainder, although they had no legal right to it. The rest had been given to Ginkel, to Ruvigny, to Keppel, and to William Bentinck, the son of the Earl of Portland. The commissioners further complained that too much indulgence had been shown to the Irish Catholics, many of whom continued in possession of their estates. A further grievance was a grant of Crown property in Ireland to Elizabeth Villiers, an old favourite of the King, now Countess of Orkney. The consequence of this report was that a Bill was passed by the Commons for the resumption of all Crown property in Ireland granted since the accession of James II., and for its being vested in trustees named by Parliament. All Irish grants made by William were to be annulled, and all estates which had been restored to their original owners by William were to be taken away. Even if there was some ground for complaint in what William had done, this wholesale action was flagrantly unjust. Lands were seized which had been fully earned by public services, and even innocent people lost their property. In order to prevent the Bill being materially altered by the House of Lords, it was tacked to a money Bill. Notwithstanding this the Lords insisted on some amendments, but when they came down to the Commons they were strongly opposed. The leaders declared that they were ready to refuse supply, the result of which would be that the army would be disbanded, the fleet would get no pay, and the national credit would be destroyed. The King was deeply mortified, but he did not dare push matters to an extremity. With the assistance of Sunderland, he told the Lords that they must give way. The Whigs who had opposed the Bill were entirely defeated, and Somers was even threatened with impeachment. Parliament was prorogued on April 11th, 1700, and the Bills received the royal assent.

Another violent act of this Parliament was the passing of a new penal law against Roman Catholics. By it, a reward of a hundred pounds was offered for information against any priest who presumed to exercise religious functions. Any one thus offending was to be imprisoned for life. Every papist at the age of eighteen was to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the Declaration against transubstantiation and the worship of saints. If he failed to do this he was to be incapable of holding land by purchase or inheritance, and the property was to go to the next Protestant of kin. No Catholic was to send his children abroad to be educated. The historian is happily able to say that this severe Act was scarcely ever put into force.

Just at this crisis a new succession question arose, which had not yet been sufficiently considered. William, Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne, had been regarded as heir-presumptive to the throne after the death of his mother. The boy was just eleven years old, and out of Anne's numerous children seemed to be the only one destined to grow up. There were great hopes both for his mind and body. He had lived at Windsor, and had been surrounded by a small court. Bishop Burnet superintended his education. He showed good memory and sound judgment, and promised to be something of a Tory, with a strong taste for

military affairs. Unfortunately he was carried off suddenly, on July 30th, 1700, by malignant fever and small-pox. The health of William was weak, and the life of Anne was very insecure. Both Republicans and Jacobites began to raise their hopes: one trusted that William III. would be the last King of England, and the others that the family of the Stuarts might be restored. It was even hoped that William might consent to adopt the Prince of Wales, if he were educated under his directions in Holland. At one time William had been in favour of the accession of the House of Savoy, descended from Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, the daughter of Charles I. But a more popular scheme was to summon to the throne Sophia, Electress of Hanover, who was the grand-daughter of James I. through

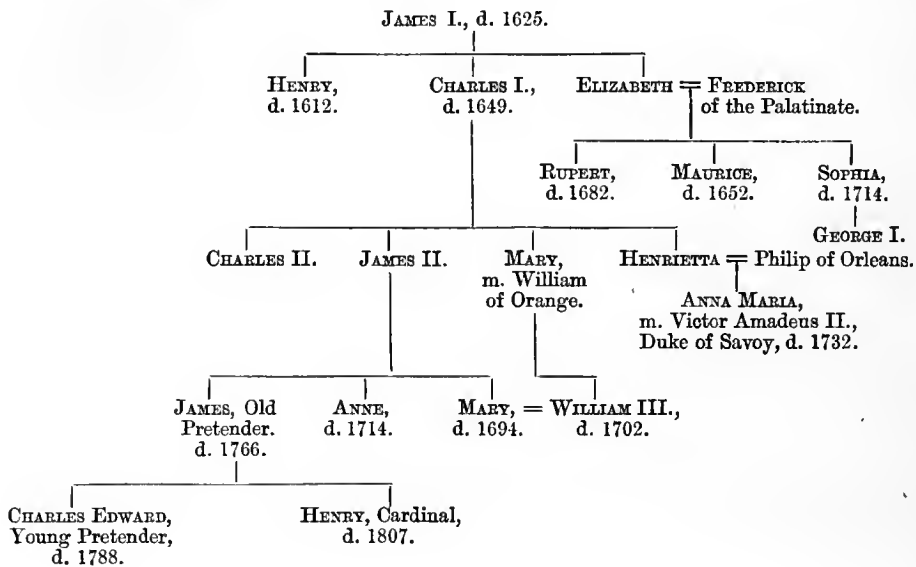


WELBECK. THE RIDING SCHOOL.

her mother, Elizabeth, who had married the Elector Palatine. Her eldest son, George Louis, was now forty years of age, and his son was a lad of seventeen. Sophia herself did not care much about the succession. She was rather in favour of the Prince of Wales. But it soon became obvious that the Protestant heir would be most acceptable to the nation. Therefore an Act of Settlement was passed in the new Parliament of 1701. This Act established the Electress Sophia as the origin of a new dynasty. A crown in England and Ireland was entailed upon her and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. Opportunity was taken to establish eight limitations on the authority of the Crown: (1) That no one should wear the crown of England who was not in communion with the English Church by law established. (2) That in case of the crown coming to any one not a native of England, the nation should not be obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any

dominions or territories which do not belong to England, without the consent of Parliament. (3) That the sovereign should not be allowed to go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland without the consent of Parliament. (4) That under the new monarch, all matters within the competence of the Privy Council shall be transacted there, and all resolutions shall be signed by such members of the Privy Council who consent to them. (5) That none but English-born subjects shall be members of the Privy Council, or of either of the Houses of Parliament, or hold any civil or military post, or receive any grant of Crown lands. (6) That no person holding an office or place of profit under the King, or receiving a pension from the Crown, shall be capable of sitting in the House of Commons. (7) That judges shall hold their office during their good behaviour, and be only

#### GENEALOGY OF THE STUARTS.



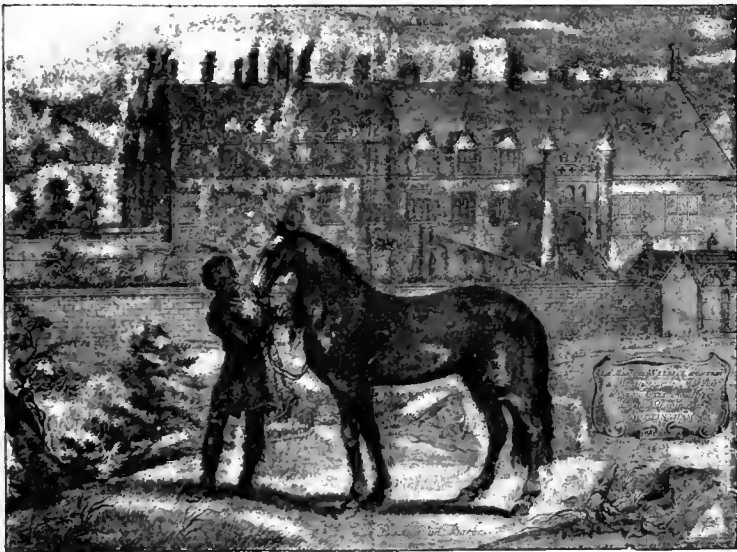
removed on the address of both Houses of Parliament. (8) That no pardon under the Great Seal of England shall be pleaded to an impeachment by the Commons in Parliament.

Of these articles the first two were very important; the third was repealed soon after the accession of George I. The fourth article was directed to the distinction which had gradually grown up between the Cabinet and the Privy Council. The article was repealed in the fourth year of Queen Anne's reign. The sixth article was abrogated in 1706; but it is still the law that any member of Parliament accepting an office of profit under the Crown must vacate his seat until a new writ is issued. The general effect of the Act of Settlement has been to establish the authority of Parliament over all important acts of government.

Party spirit now ran higher than ever, and the Tories in the House of Commons impeached Portland, Russell, Somers, and Montague, and requested the King to dis-



miss them from his service. One of the ostensible grounds was their opposition to the second Partition Treaty, which they considered to be favourable to France and injurious to the interests of England. The Lords defended the ministers who were attacked, and petitioned that they should not be dismissed until they had been fairly tried. The King was much harassed by these party conflicts, and being conscious of the great danger which overhung the kingdom, was desirous that all sides should unite in patriotic efforts against the common foe. This feeling found an echo in the so-called "Kentish Petition," presented by the quarter sessions at Maidstone. It implored the Commons to drop their disputes, to have regard to the voice of the people, and to change their loyal addresses into bills of supply. When the petition was presented on May the 8th, 1701, the House of Commons burst out into ungovernable anger. It declared the petition scandalous, insolent, and

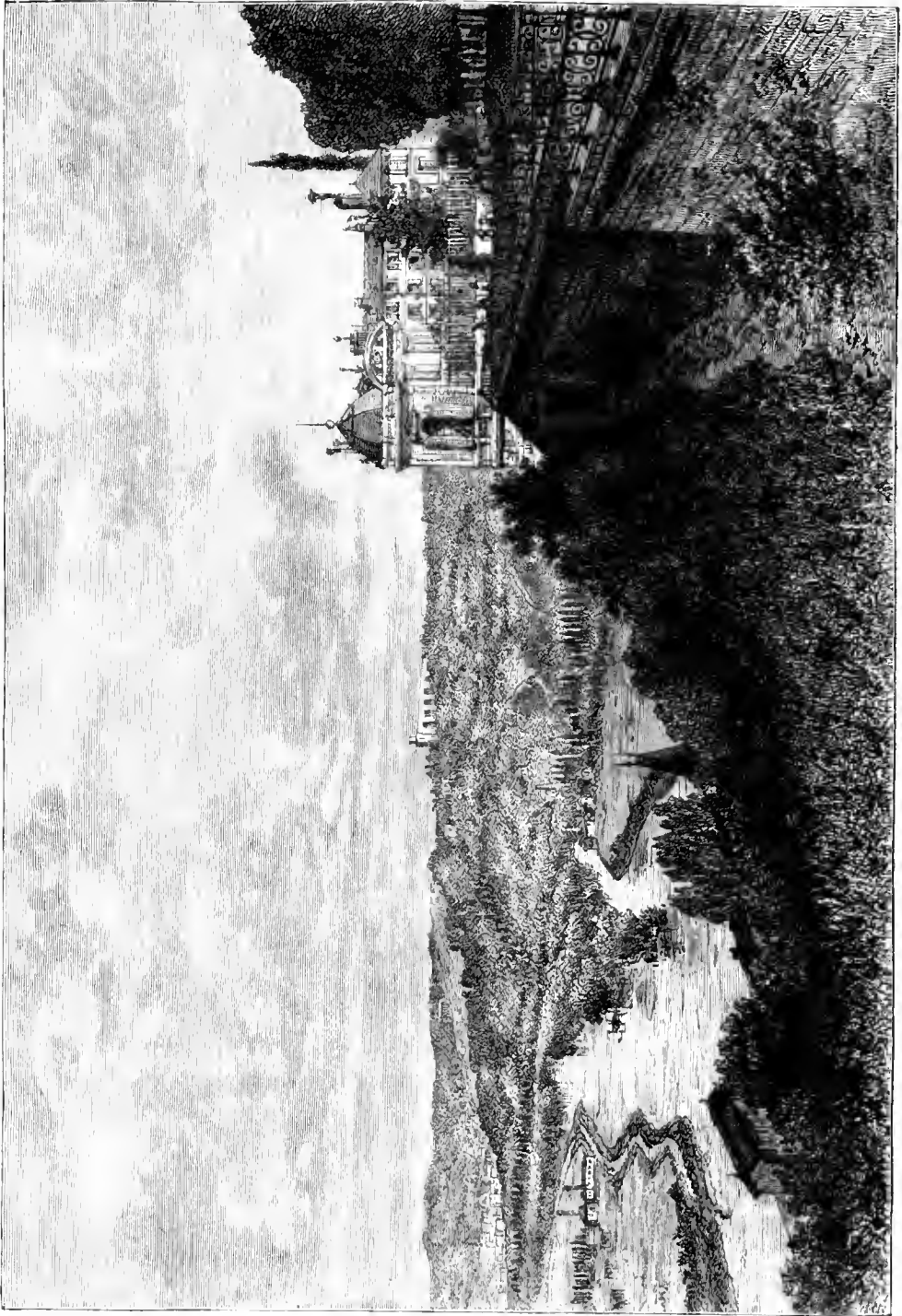


WELBECK IN 1658. FROM AN OLD PRINT.

revolutionary. The members who presented it were taken into custody by the serjeant-at-arms. This petition was followed by another, generally known as the Legion Petition, from the fact that it contained no signatures, but concluded with the words, "Our name is Legion, and we are many."

In the meantime, relations between France and England were becoming strained, and when Parliament was prorogued on June 24th, 1701, William went to Holland with the view of forming a new system of alliances to check the designs of Louis XIV. On September 7th a treaty was signed between England, Holland, and the Emperor. It did not give the Spanish throne to a prince of the Austrian house, but it promised the Emperor compensation for his claims upon it, and reduced the amount of territory assigned to France by the Treaty of Partition. Ten days later the aspect of affairs was entirely changed by the death of James II. at St. Germain's. The question immediately arose whether the French Government

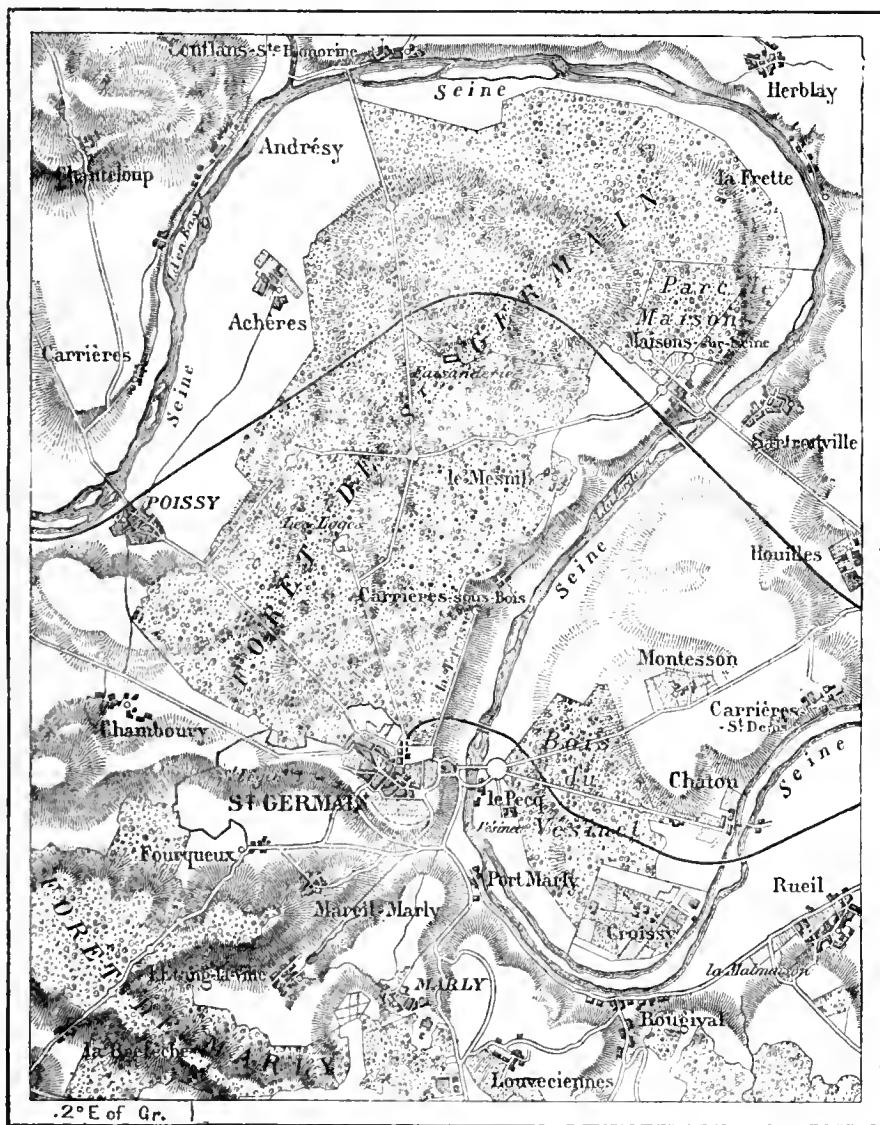
should acknowledge the Prince of Wales as his successor. The matter was con-



ST. GERMAINS.

sidered in a full council. The ministers were against the recognition, the princes

of the blood were for it, and Louis XIV. gave his voice for the latter course. He said he had no intention of supporting the restoration of the Stuart family, but that it was a matter of personal feeling with him to keep the court of St. Germain in the same condition. Therefore, as soon as King James died the Prince



COUNTRY AROUND ST. GERMAINS.

was proclaimed king of England, Scotland, and Ireland as King James III., and was formally acknowledged by Louis. The great majority of the English people felt themselves outraged. William immediately recalled his ambassador from Paris. Addresses poured in from all sides in support of the throne. William, acting on the advice of Somers, dissolved Parliament on January 11th.

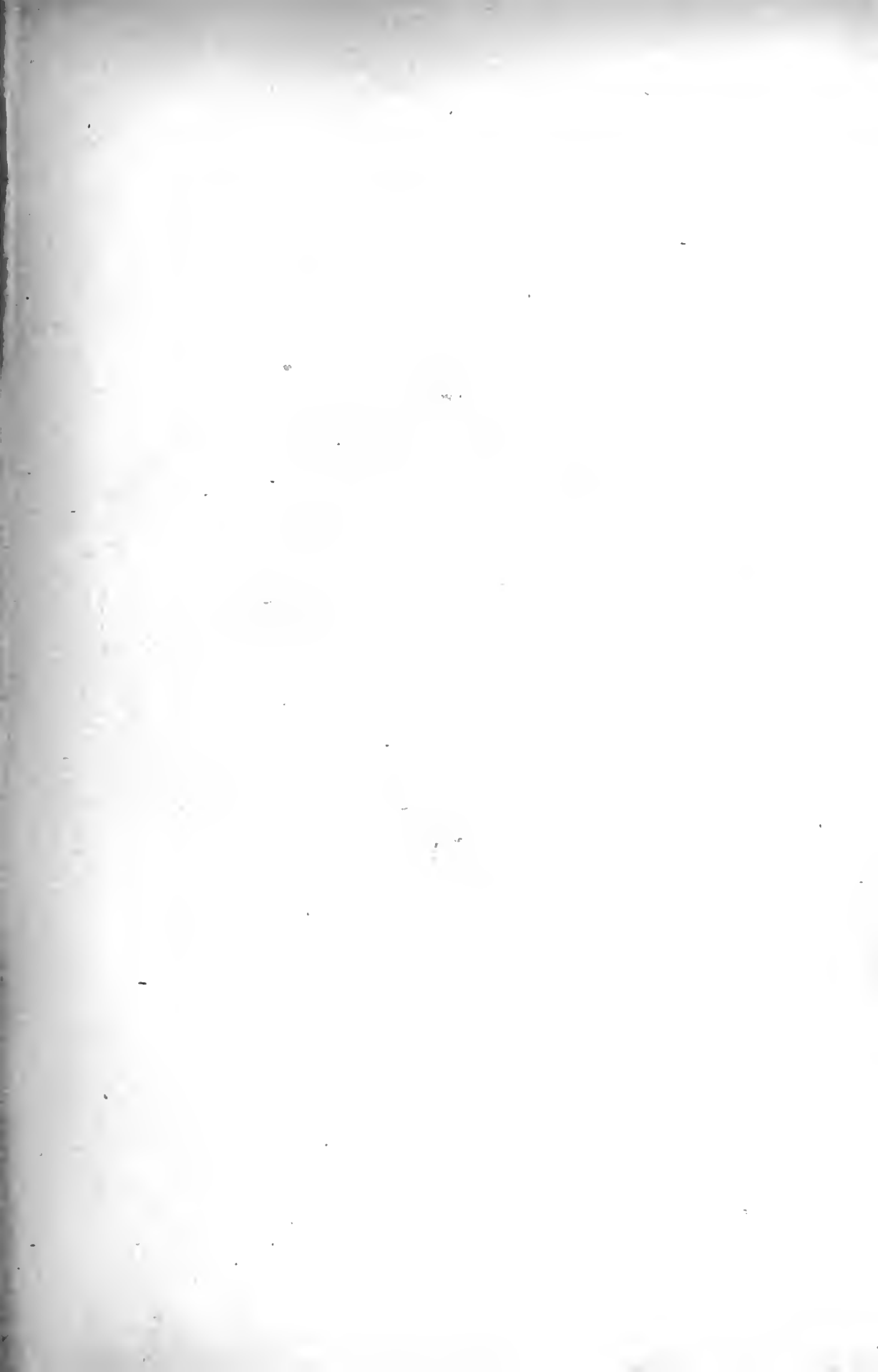
The new elections were decidedly in favour of the Whigs, although they did

not form an overwhelming majority, and the Tories were able to elect Harley as Speaker. At any rate, both sides vied with each other in voting money for the prosecution of the war. An Act was passed for attainting the Pretender with treason, and another for upholding the Protestant succession, and imposing an oath to that effect on all who held employment in Church or State. William prepared vigorously for war. He contemplated the union between Scotland and England. He formed plans for attacking the Spanish Plate fleet, now on its way from America. He carried on negotiations for an alliance with German powers. He intended to prorogue Parliament at Easter, and to take the field in person before the end of April.

These plans were shattered by his sudden and unexpected death. On Saturday, February 21st, he set out to hunt at Kingston-on-Thames. He was riding a young horse for the first time. About three in the afternoon the horse stumbled over a mole-hill, and threw him. It was found that his arm was injured and his collar-bone broken, but at the moment he did not feel seriously hurt. On March 3rd he was supposed to be nearly well, but he was attacked by a sudden fever and died on the morning of Sunday, March 8th. One of his last acts was proposing union between England and Scotland.

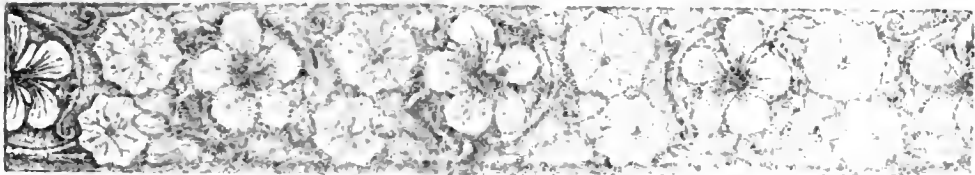
The greatness of William III. lay in his international position. He was compounded of English, German, and Dutch elements. The main object of his life was to oppose the overweening growth of the French monarchy under Louis XIV., and to effect this he had to combine a number of heterogeneous elements. His constitution was sickly, his face pale and haggard, and he was worn out with continual asthma; yet he had an unquenchable energy for work. He talked little, and lived only for business. He did his duty as King of England, and under him the English Constitution received its final development; but neither he nor his subjects had much enthusiasm for each other. Yet he was one of the greatest monarchs that ever sat on an English throne.







ANNE.



CHIEF OF

1857

Faint, mostly illegible text in the upper right section, possibly a list or report.

Main body of faint text, including a date 'May 20th' and a date 'April 1st'. The text is largely illegible due to fading.









## CHAPTER IV.

### QUEEN ANNE.



QUEEN ANNE.

IMMEDIATELY upon the death of William, the crown of England, Scotland, and Ireland devolved upon Queen Anne. The members of the Privy Council, who were assembled in Kensington Palace to watch the moment of his death, agreed to go in a body to attend her Majesty Queen Anne at her palace at St. James's, and to acquaint her with the decease of the late King. They also ordered her accession to be immediately proclaimed. Although it was Sunday, Parliament met on the same day, and the work of the new reign began. The Queen received the Privy Council with a speech which gave assurance of the maintenance of the crown in the Protestant line, and of the importance of carrying on preparations to oppose the great power of

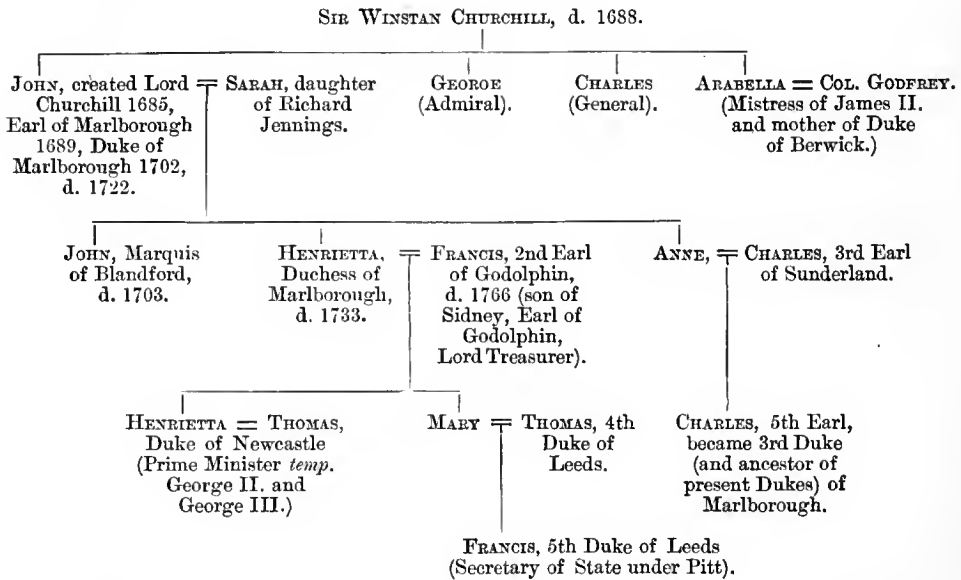
France, and to maintain the Grand Alliance. It was noticed that the voice of the new Queen was soft, distinct, and sonorous. Three days later she told the Houses of Parliament that there was nothing which she would not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England. Parliament came to an end on May 25th, it having been provided that, contrary to the ancient practice of dissolving at the sovereign's death, it continued for six months longer. The Queen was crowned on April 1st. This unusual haste was thought advisable in consequence of the assertion of the Stuart claims. After Anne's death the crown would pass to a distant line. She had seventeen children, but none of them outlived childhood. The new Queen's ministry took a Tory complexion. Somers, Halifax, and Orford were excluded



QUEEN ANNE FARTHING.

from the Privy Council; Nottingham was appointed Secretary of State; and Godolphin, whose eldest son had married Marlborough's eldest daughter, received the post of Lord High Treasurer. Within a week of William's death, the Earl of Marlborough, as he then was, was appointed Knight of the Garter, Captain-General of the Forces at home and abroad, and Ambassador Extraordinary to the Hague. Before the end of the year he was created Marquis of Blandford and Duke of Marlborough. His wife, the famous Sarah Jennings, was the intimate friend of the Queen. She maintained with her a constant correspondence, and in order that their communications might be free and unrestrained, the Queen took the name of Mrs. Morley, and the Duchess of Mrs. Freeman. The coronation took place as previously arranged. It lasted during the whole of a tiring day. During the night which followed, London blazed with bonfires and illuminations, with the ringing of bells and the cheering of enthusiastic crowds.

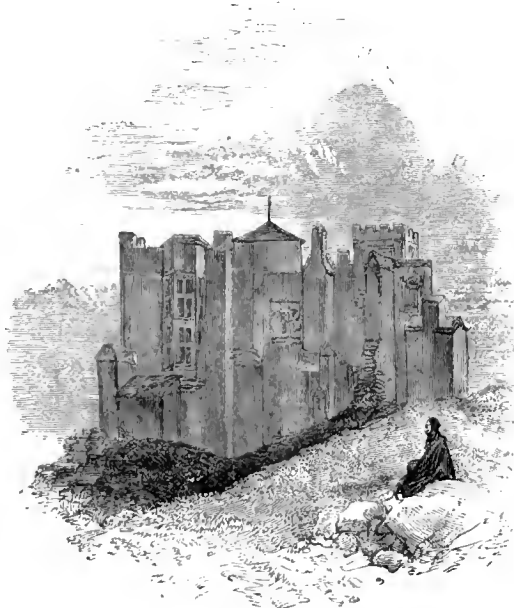
#### GENEALOGY OF THE CHURCHILLS AND GODOLPHINS.



On May 4th war was declared against France. It had been suggested in the Privy Council that the Emperor should take the lead and England should only appear as a helping power, but this found no favour. The Queen declared war by the exercise of her prerogative. Marlborough immediately repaired to Holland, where he assumed the position which had been occupied by King William, at once general diplomatist and minister. He was equal to the weight of all these functions. He combined energy with prudence, geniality with solidity. His only fault was a self-seeking habit of aiming both at wealth and honours. By this time the Elector of Brandenburg had joined the Grand Alliance as a price for receiving the title of King of Prussia. The Elector Palatine and the Elector of Hanover had followed his example. The allied army was collected round Nime-

guen. It was a motley throng of Germans, Dutch and English, Danes, Norwegians and Swedes, Croats, Bohemians and Hungarians, Celts from Scotland, Ireland, and Biscay. The tale was completed by Italians, Spaniards, and French. The army under the command of Marlborough amounted to about sixty thousand men. The French were posted about eight miles off in a strong position dangerous to attack, Marlborough therefore determined to take the fortified towns on the Maas one by one, and to induce Boufflers if possible to fight in their defence. He began with the siege of Venlo, which he soon took by storm. He next attacked Roermund, twenty miles up the river. This with Stevensweert was speedily taken, and Marlborough now determined on a bolder stroke. He heard that Boufflers was marching to defend Liège. He anticipated him with great skill, captured the citadel, and thus completely set free the whole line of the Maas. This was a great humiliation to France.

At sea the combined Dutch and English fleets under Sir George Rooke failed in an attempt on Cadiz, but contrived to destroy the Spanish Plate fleet in Vigo Bay. Admiral Benbow engaged a large French fleet in the West Indies and fought for five days until his captains deserted him. His ship was reduced to a wreck, he was wounded in the arm and face, and had his leg shot away. When he reached Kingston, in Jamaica, he ordered four of his captains to be tried by court-martial.

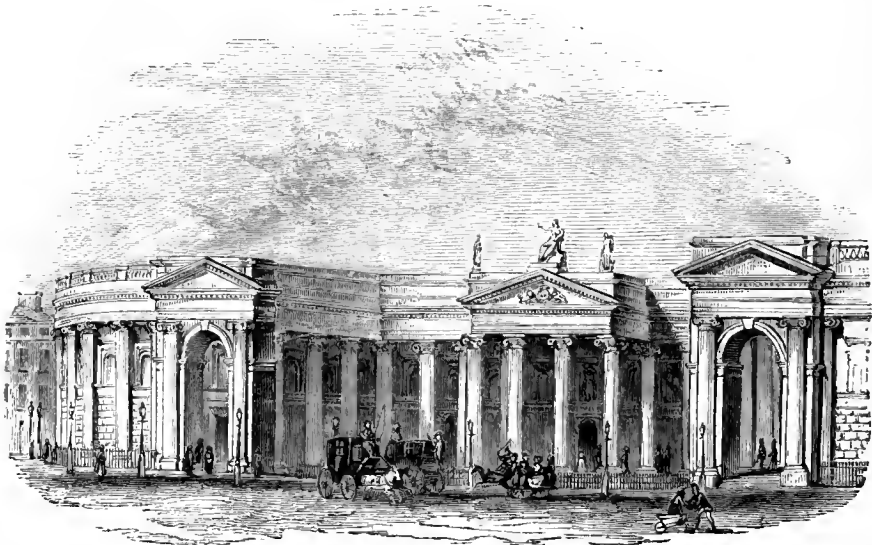


PALACE OF WOODSTOCK.

The general election was held in July. It resulted in a defeat of the Whigs who had supported the war, and in a partial triumph of the Tories. Parliament met on October 20th, and Robert Harley was chosen Speaker. The address asserted that the Earl of Marlborough had signally retrieved the ancient honour and glory of the English nation. This was felt by the Whigs to be an insult to the memory of King William, and they moved an amendment that the word "maintained" should be substituted, but they lost their motion by a large majority. Steps were also taken to enforce the prosecution of Dissenters by preventing what was called occasional conformity. It was passed by the Commons but happily thrown out by the Lords. On November 12th a public thanksgiving was held in St. Paul's Cathedral for the success of the allied armies. The procession was the most magnificent that had been seen within living memory. There had been no similar occasion since the defeat of the Spanish Armada. At

the end of the month Marlborough returned amidst great enthusiasm. Anne declared her intention of making him a Duke, but she added to this that she had secured him a pension of five thousand a year upon the revenues of the Post Office. The announcement of this to the Commons produced great surprise and an outburst of indignation. It was shown that both he and his wife were already in receipt of very large incomes from public sources. One member said, "I have no wish to derogate from his services, but I must say that he is well paid for them."

It has been before mentioned that William III. was very anxious to bring about union between England and Scotland. The Committee appointed for the purpose, consisting of twenty-three members from each country, met on October 22nd. They were not, however, sincere in their project. Underneath the political question lay the difference of churches, which was sure to rouse bitter



BANK OF IRELAND, DUBLIN.

animosity. It was difficult to see how Scotch Presbyterianism could be made to combine with the intolerant High Church principles, supported by the Tory party. Some points were agreed to without dispute, that the two kingdoms should be called Great Britain, and that the succession to the crown should be limited by the Act of Settlement. Also that there should be a single Parliament; but here unanimity ceased. The first dispute was on the matter of free trade with the colonies, and the English demanded the dissolution of the Scotch East India Company. As neither party would give way the Commission was adjourned by royal authority.

The opposition of the Tories to Marlborough's pension, and their supposed objection to the continental war, made it necessary to see how the government could best be carried on, and Marlborough held anxious consultations with Godolphin on this point. Rochester, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was the leader of

this opposition. He was the second son of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, and was thus closely related to the Queen. He had, however, opposed the declaration of war and had urged that the English should rather act as subordinates than as principals. This indeed formed the main difference between Whigs and Tories during the reign of Anne. The Tories were in favour of a policy of non-intervention, and of England confining herself to her own affairs. The Whigs, on the other hand, considered that London could best be defended in the Low Countries. It is strange to see how in the history of England while party names remained the same, the principles represented by them have often entirely changed. In order to get rid of Rochester the Queen was induced to command him to return immediately to his government of Dublin. He angrily refused and soon afterwards resigned. Ormond was appointed in his place.

The campaign of 1703 witnessed a new accession to the Grand Alliance. Portugal was won over by the Methuen Treaty, an arrangement which was thought to be very advantageous to that country, but which was really disastrous to it. By this treaty it was arranged that Portuguese wines should always be admitted to England at one-third less duty than the wines of any other nation, whereas, in return, English woollen goods were admitted on easy terms to Portugal. The result of this was that the cultivation of the grape was largely developed in Portugal to the advantage of the great landowners rather than of the country at large, while the influx of English manufactures prevented the development of similar industries in Portugal. Our ancestors began to drink port wine, the parent of gout, instead of the lighter and more wholesome claret, and the use of French wines which had been common in England did not recover its popularity until the commercial treaty of Richard Cobden.

The campaign of 1703 was not very important, except so far as it is intimately connected with the important campaign of the next year. The Elector of Bavaria, who had hitherto been neutral, now had joined the French and surprised the city of Ulm. When this had been done he made an attempt to join Marshal Villars on the Upper Rhine. The defection of the Elector was very important to the Emperor, because it exposed him to invasion. Leopold, therefore, turned his attention to the conquest of Bavaria for the security of the Rhine and of the Black Forest. Villars succeeded in taking Kehl, a fortified town opposite Strasburg, and after this withdrew into Alsace. After a few weeks' delay Villars determined to force a passage through the Black Forest. He marched with great rapidity through a very difficult country which the Emperor had elected to defend. On May 8th, 1703, the French reached Tuttlingen, on the Danube, where the Elector



CLIPPING THE COCK'S WINGS (QUEEN ANNE AND LOUIS XIV.)

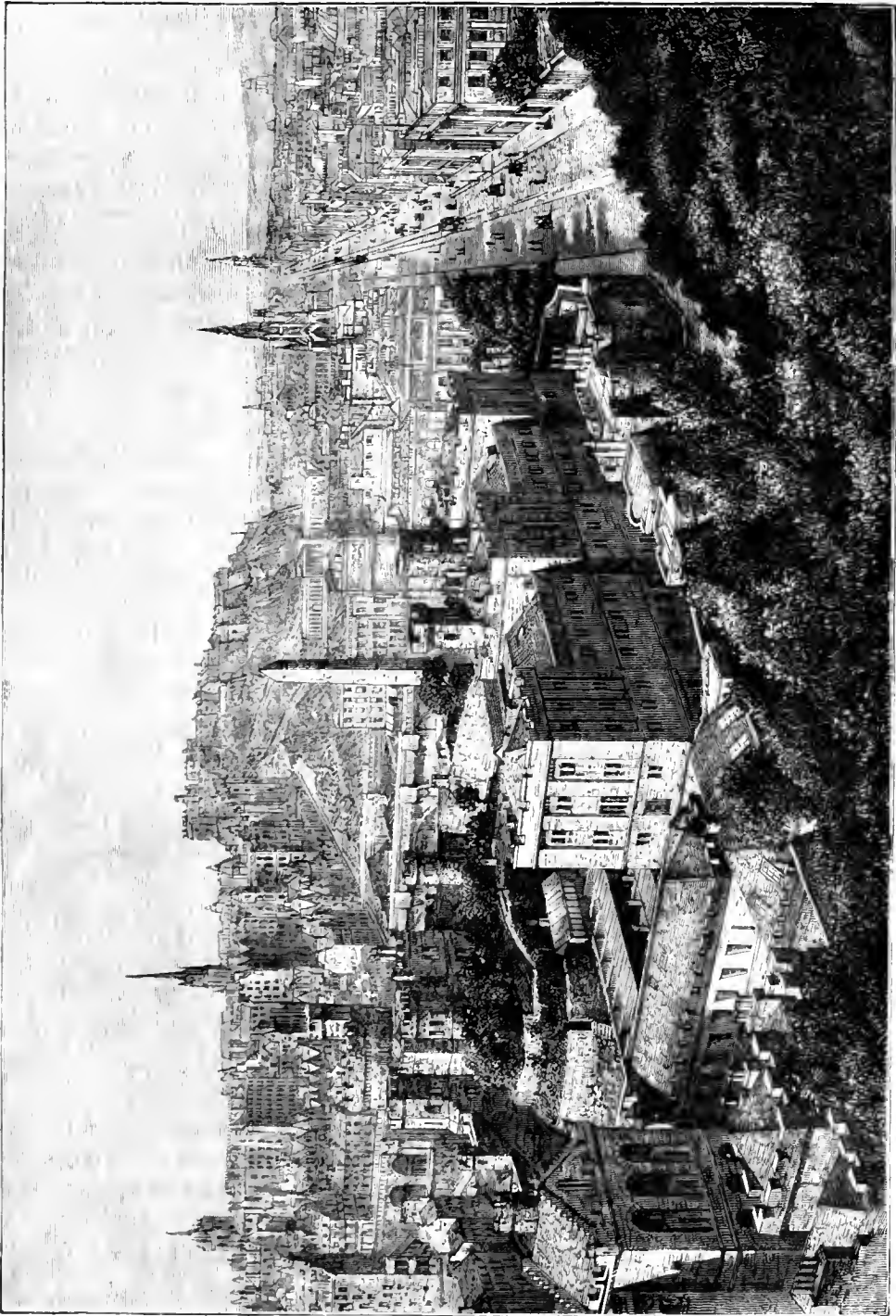
From an old satirical Print.

hailed it with the greatest joy. Villars proposed a daring plan to his ally. It was to post troops at various points on the Danube. The whole force was to embark on the river on a certain day, attack Passau and Linz and attack Vienna. The Emperor would be taken by surprise and be compelled to make peace. Villars himself would take up his position at Donauwerth, and, with the assistance of Marshal Tallard, keep off the rest of the allied troops. The whole success of this plan depended upon secrecy, but in a few days the project was known all over Europe. Even then the boldness of the scheme was too much for the Elector. He declared himself unable to do anything so daring. Villars fell back upon a second plan. The Elector was to attack the Tyrol and march eastwards towards Vienna, while at the same time Vendôme was to move over the north of Italy towards the same point. This scheme anticipated a well-known commendation of Napoleon I. But the Elector was unequal to his share of the task. The Tyrolese rose against the Bavarians, as a hundred years later they rose against the French. The plan entirely failed, and he was compelled to retire to Munich. The campaign was marked by the battle of Hochstedt, on the same ground where the famous battle of Blenheim was fought in the succeeding year. The Imperialists were defeated, and Bavaria was for the moment saved. On the Lower Rhine the important town of Bonn was taken by Marlborough on May 12th, but little more was done. The deputies of the Dutch Republic, who accompanied the army, prevented Marlborough from pursuing his advantage, otherwise he might have been able to take Antwerp and Ostend, or at least to force the weakest part of the French lines. As it was, he returned to England, having effected little, on November 10th.

During this sitting of Parliament an important question was tried which settled the right of the House of Commons to determine matters concerning the election of its own members. In the recent election for Aylesbury the returning officer had rejected the vote of one Ashby. The offended party brought an action for damages against the returning officer at the assizes and obtained a verdict for five pounds. The decision was appealed against as to whether a vote for Parliament could be considered to have a pecuniary value. The Court of the Queen's Bench decided against him, upon which he appealed to the House of Lords, which gave it in his favour. Ashby had succeeded in establishing that the possession of a vote was an important right. The House of Commons, however, could not bear that a matter so intimately concerning themselves should be decided by the Upper House. They claimed the exclusive privilege of determining not only the right of the person elected, but also the qualifications of the elector. They carried a resolution to the effect that Ashby had been guilty of a breach of privilege, and that, according to the known law and usage of Parliament, neither the qualification of any elector, nor the right of any person elected, was cognisable elsewhere than before the House of Commons.

Another Act passed in the session was that establishing what is known as Queen Anne's bounty. The position of the country clergy was at this time extremely bad, and a plan for improving it was conceived by Burnet. Since the

Reformation the crown had received what had been before given to the Pope—the



EDINBURGH, FROM CALTON HILL.

first year's income of every benefice and the tenth part in succeeding years. Burnet proposed that this revenue should be paid into a special fund, from which

small livings should be augmented in value. Both Charles II. and William had declined to use the fund in this way, but Anne was more accessible to the voice of pity. Trustees were appointed to receive the money, and the fund has ever since borne the name of "Queen Anne's Bounty." It has been increased by grants of Parliament and by private donations, and now amounts to a considerable sum.

The session closed on April 3rd, 1704, and was succeeded by some important changes in the ministry. The Earl of Nottingham, a tall, thin, very black man, like a Spaniard or Jew, called "Dismal," or "Don Diego Dismallo," from his grave and solemn looks, was a high Tory. He called upon the Queen to dismiss all Whigs from the Council, and when she refused resigned his office as Secretary of State, which he had held for two years. He was succeeded by Robert

Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, a man affable and courteous, easy and agreeable in conversation, of low stature and slender, and deaf with the left ear. He held the office for the next four years. At the same time Henry St. John, afterwards Viscount Bolingbroke (one of the most brilliant men of the age, both in bearing and in attainments), became Secretary for War. They were both Tories, but of a more moderate type than Nottingham. The winter was marked by the visit to England of Archduke Charles of Austria, the claimant to the Spanish



ST. JAMES'S PALACE.

throne. His journey was attended by great difficulties from the stormy weather which marked this season. Indeed the beginning of the winter had been signalled by that tremendous hurricane which has ever since been known in English history as The Storm. It began at eleven o'clock at night on November 6th, and raged till seven the next morning. Part of St. James's Palace was blown down. The Bishop of Wells and his wife were killed as they lay in bed by a fall of chimneys. One man, sleeping in a garret in the City, was blown away in his sleep and did not wake up till he found himself lying in bed in the open street. The Thames flooded Westminster Hall, and most of the southern sea-ports suffered great damage. Spires were blown down from the churches. King's College Chapel suffered in its pinnacles and its windows, and the Eddystone lighthouse was destroyed and its architect drowned. A hundred elm-trees were blown down in St. James's



Park. Defoe, the author of "Robinson Crusoe," tried to count up the number of trees which had been destroyed in Kent. After counting seventeen thousand he left off. A general fast in atonement for this calamity was held on January 19th, 1704.

The campaign of 1704, which culminated in the victory of Blenheim, was the most important of the war. The French were preparing to deal a fatal blow to the Emperor by striking him in his capital. Marshal Tallard detached fifteen thousand men from his army of the Rhine to join Marsin and his Bavarians at Ulm. With the remainder of his forces he was intending either to advance to the Moselle, or to pass through the Black Forest and join the Elector in Bavaria. Their united forces were to advance upon Vienna, and this capital, threatened in front, was to be attacked in the rear by the Hungarian insurgents who were in alliance with France. Marlborough arrived in the neighbourhood of Cologne on May 18th. He had under his command forty thousand men, of whom sixteen thousand were English. With these he marched up the Rhine. On his way he heard that Tallard had passed through the Black Forest and had joined the Elector. Marlborough knew that no time was to be lost. At Coblenz and Mainz he was treated with great distinction by the spiritual electors. The smart uniforms of the English officers were the wonder of everybody. The Elector of Mainz said that they looked as if they were dressed for a ball. Pursuing his march Marlborough crossed the Neckar at Ladenburg, between Mannheim and



"A FRENCH TRUMPET AND DRUM"  
(From an old satirical print)

"Sent by Louis le Grand to enquire news of several cities lost by the Mighty Monarch last campaign."

Heidelberg. He then marched on to Wiesbach and Eppingen till he reached Mundelsheim, on the Neckar, between Heilbronn and Stuttgart. Close to this place he met Prince Eugene and they immediately became fast friends. The Prince said: "You have come to save the empire and to give me an opportunity of retrieving my honour." But to the great regret of Marlborough Prince Eugene was obliged to leave him in order to defend the Rhine against Tallard and Villeroi. Prince Louis of Baden remained with Marlborough and shared the command with him on alternate days. The English general had now reached the most difficult portion of his march. He had to pass through the Rauhe Alpen, by a passage always difficult and now flooded by rains. Marlborough's march followed the line of the railway between Stuttgart and Ulm. On June 22nd he joined the army of Prince Louis in the neighbourhood of Ursprung. Their combined forces

now amounted to sixty thousand men, those of Marlborough being composed of English, Dutch, Danes, and Hanoverians, whilst those of Prince Louis consisted of Swabians, Prussians, and Franconians. The combined armies now advanced to Elchingen, on the Danube, ground famous in the history of Napoleon I. The Elector of Bavaria began to fear for Ulm, and retired to an entrenched camp. But Marlborough's design was to secure the important town of Donauwerth, on the Danube, so as to command its bridge and establish his magazines there. He reached this place by a circuitous march evading the Elector, who was entrenched upon the Danube. As soon as the Elector was aware of Marlborough's object he occupied the Schellenberg, a hill just above Donauwerth. Marlborough determined to attack it. On July 2nd he set out at three o'clock in the morning with a detachment of picked men, the main army following two hours later. They did not reach the foot of the mountain till noon, but Marlborough determined on an immediate attack. He was at first repulsed, but, reinforced by the arrival of Prince Louis, succeeded in the third attempt. The Bavarians were defeated with great loss, and many of them were drowned in the Danube. Of the twelve thousand troops who defended the Schellenberg only three thousand regained the camp of the Elector. The allies also sustained a heavy loss. With a view of bringing the Elector to terms, Marlborough laid the country waste, but he was not able to shake his purpose.

In the meantime Tallard having left Villeroy on the way to defend Alsace, had crossed the Black Forest with twenty-five thousand men, and joined the Elector at Augsburg on August 3rd. Prince Eugene had followed him closely, and had now reached the Danube at Hochstedt with eighteen thousand men. Marlborough and Prince Louis advanced to meet him. Prince Louis was happily dispatched to invest the town of Ingolstadt. Prince Eugene was now in the greatest danger. He was threatened by a superior force of Bavarians from the other side of the Danube, and if attacked could have offered but little resistance. He took up a strong position on the Kesselbach, where he awaited Marlborough's arrival. His danger culminated on August 11th. During that day he could easily have been overwhelmed by the French and Bavarian armies, but their councils were happily divided. At the evening of that day Marlborough himself with his cavalry and infantry joined Prince Eugene. The artillery followed on the next morning, and the two generals rode out to reconnoitre. Thus on August 12th, the two armies stood opposed to each other at a little distance. The allies had about fifty-three thousand men, the French and Bavarians about three thousand more. Prince Eugene commanded the right wing, and Marlborough the left. At daybreak on August 13th, the sounds of marching were heard in the French camp. Tallard imagined that the allies were retreating to Nordlingen, but the case was far otherwise. The allied army was advancing in eight columns, the infantry on the flanks and the cavalry in the centre. Prince Eugene kept touch with the mountains, and Marlborough with the river. At six o'clock the two armies were close to each other, but the ground was covered with a thick mist. When that rose an hour later the French discovered their mistake.

The battle-field of Blenheim is about three miles broad. From the wooded heights which bound it on one side, the little brook Nebel flowed into the Danube. Four villages occupied the space between the Danube and the hills: Blindheim, which gave its name to the battle, where the brook falls into the main river, then Unterglauheim, Oberglauheim, and Lutsingen. Tallard and his army was posted at Blindheim in such a position that he could not use his infantry. The Elector and Marsin were upon the hills. It was arranged that Eugene should



GABRITAR POINT, GIBRALTAR.

attack Lutsingen, while Marlborough crossed the Nebel and fell upon the centre and right of the enemy. The two attacks were to take place simultaneously, and as Eugene was much impeded by the hills, Marlborough's army was compelled to wait. The ground in the centre of the Nebel was so marshy that Tallard took no pains to defend it, and Marlborough had plenty of time to complete the bridges which ran across it. At one o'clock the signal was given, and Lord Cutts, the "salamander," as he was called, from his disregard of fire, crossed the Nebel and made a dash at Blindheim, occupying Tallard's attention while Marlborough's

troops were crossing the morass. One of the points most hotly contested was the village of Oberglauheim, and the attack upon this nearly ended in the defeat of the allies. After three hours' fighting the whole of Marlborough's troops were drawn up on firm ground on the other side of the Nebel. It is extraordinary that he should have been allowed to effect this without opposition. At five o'clock the grand and decisive movement was made. Marlborough advanced to attack the hill on which Tallard was posted. At the fourth charge the French were entirely broken, and fled in wild disorder. Tallard was carried along in the flight, and whilst he was attempting to rescue twelve thousand infantry, which were as yet quite untouched, out of Blindheim, he was surrounded and taken prisoner. These troops were eventually forced to lay down their arms. The Elector of Bavaria and Marsin were more fortunate, and were able to retreat in better order. In the last light of the autumn evening Marlborough tore a leaf from a pocket-book and scrawled on it the following words, which he sent to his wife: "I have not time to say more than to beg of you to present my humble duty to the Queen, and to let her know that her army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest." This note was delivered to Anne at Windsor, and is still to be seen in the room where it was first read. The result of the battle was that the whole of Bavaria was given up to the allies. When Marlborough reached England in December, he received the thanks of the Queen and both Houses of Parliament. He was presented with the manor of Woodstock, on which was built the stately palace of Blenheim. He also was made a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, with the title and territory of Mindelheim. The year 1704 was also memorable for another feat of English arms. Nine days before the battle of Blenheim, the rock of Gibraltar had been taken by surprise. It was garrisoned by only eighty soldiers, whose numbers were increased by an undisciplined and useless rabble. On August 1st, Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel sailed into the bay, carrying an army under the command of the Prince of Darmstadt. The governor was summoned to surrender but refused, but a few days after consented. It is said that this was hastened by the capture of a number of women, who had gone to pray in the church at Europa Point. The British flag was in this manner first hoisted upon the rock, from which it has never since been pulled down by the combined armies of France and Spain.

Parliament assembled on October 29th, 1704. Their first business was to pass votes of congratulation on the successes of the army and navy. The Whigs showed most enthusiasm in complimenting the Duke in the House of Lords, and the Tories in congratulating the Admiral in the House of Commons. The spirit of party raged as strongly as ever. The Commons again passed the Occasional Conformity Bill and attempted to get it through the Lords by "tacking it," as it was called, to the Land Tax Bill, which the Lords might accept or reject but could not amend. The tackers, however, were defeated, as Harley and St. John, both Tories, were rendered more moderate by the responsibilities of office. There was no difficulty in defeating the Bill in the House of Lords. The division taken on



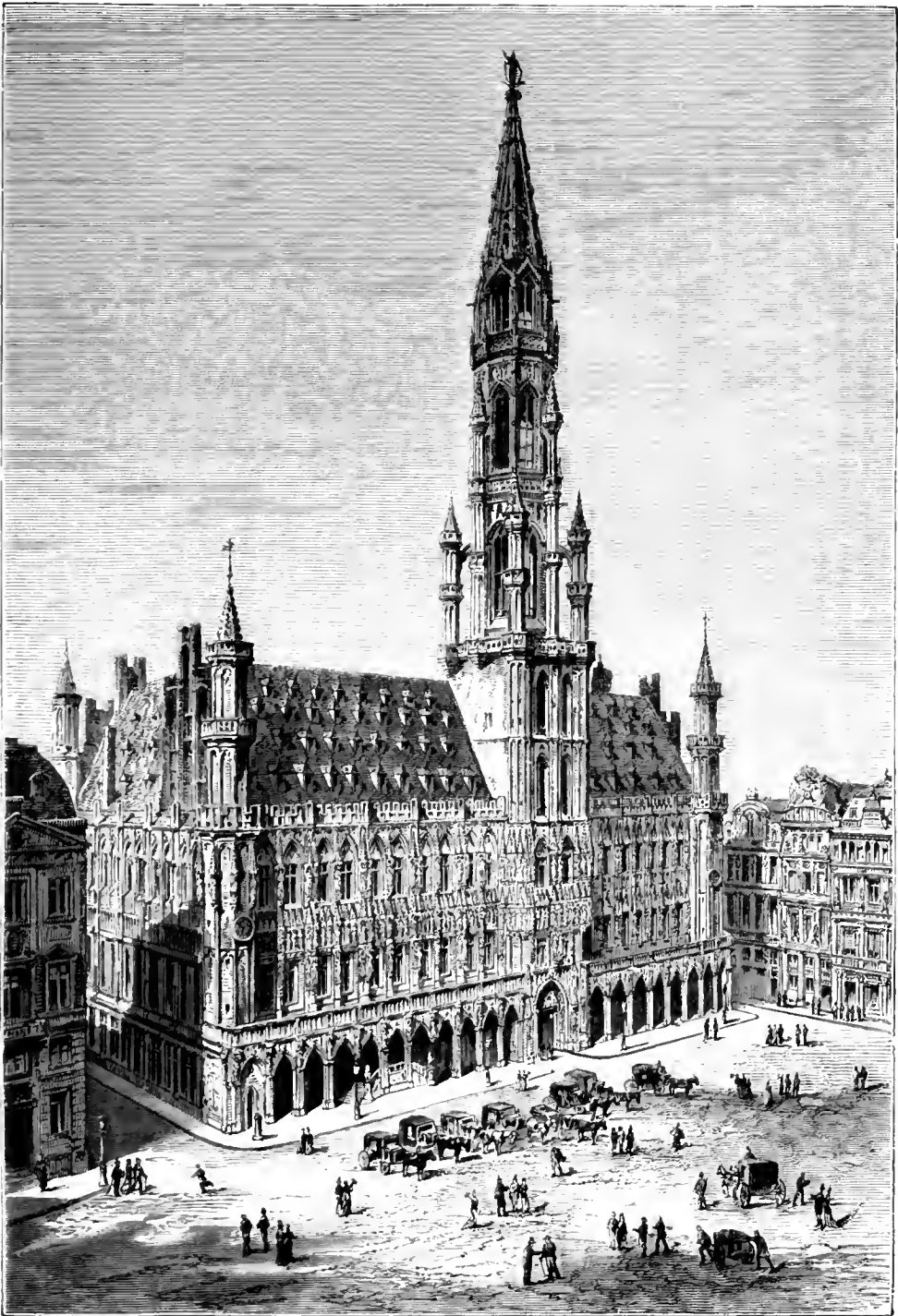
ROCK OF GIBRALTAR.

this subject in the House of Commons was the first occasion on which full lists were published with the members' names attached.

The story of the Union will be told later on. It is sufficient to say now that relations between England and Scotland were becoming very much strained. There was considerable danger of Scotland turning Jacobite and inviting the Stuarts to resume the throne. Even as temperate a statesman as Lord Somers found it necessary to declare that after Christmas, 1705, all Scotchmen should be regarded as aliens. The immediate cause of this was a resolution passed by the Scotch Parliament that "the Presbyterian Church is the only true Church of Christ in the kingdom," and also certain further resolutions limiting the authority of the crown. These provided that no king of England was to declare peace or war without the consent of the Scotch Parliament, while the appointment of the great officers of state was to be transferred to the Parliament of Scotland. An Act for the Security of the Kingdom was also passed, declaring that in event of the Queen's dying without issue the Estates should name a Protestant heir from the family of the Electress Sophia, but not the one named by England unless security was given for independence of trade and religion in the northern kingdom. The Lord High Commissioner refused to touch this Act with the sceptre, which was the ceremony of signifying the royal assent, but in the next year Godolphin interposed as a mediator and the Bill became law. In April, 1705, the three years for which Parliament was elected had almost expired and it was dissolved by the Queen.

The campaign of 1705 was conducted in two parts of Europe, the Netherlands and Spain. The design of Marlborough was to invade France on the side of the Moselle. Little, however, was accomplished. Prince Eugene, the old ally of Marlborough, was commanding in Italy, and the Duke had to content himself with the far inferior co-operation of Prince Louis of Baden. The French on the Moselle adopted defensive tactics, and Villars entrenched himself in a strong position on the river Sierck. On the Meuse, however, Villeroi captured the fortress of Huy and invested the citadel of Liege. These disasters were, however, repaired by the energy of Marlborough. The Duke then set himself to force the strong lines which stretched across the country from Namur to Antwerp, and which were defended by sixty thousand men. He succeeded in breaking through the lines, but was prevented from pursuing his advantage by the timidity of the Dutch. Driven from this design he was very near anticipating the battle of Waterloo by a hundred and ten years. The French were holding Brussels, and Marlborough's plan was to march along the great paved road which leads through the forest of Soignies to that capital. Marlborough's battle would have been fought on August 18th, 1705, as Wellington's was fought on June 18th, 1815. The position of the English was of course reversed. They were now approaching from the south, as before they had marched from the north. The two armies were arranged within cannon shot, and the Duke was eager to give the signal for battle, but the deputies of the Dutch interposed. The councils of timidity prevailed and Marlborough was forced to retreat. Thus the campaign ended with no tangible result.

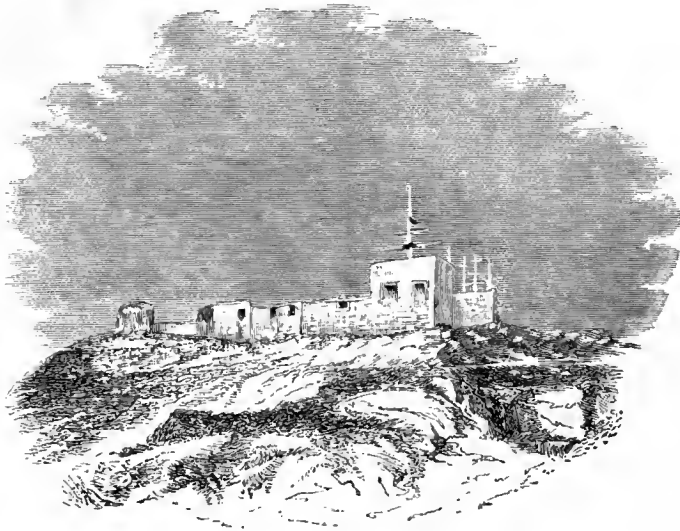
Far more important was the campaign of the same year in Spain, where the



THE TOWN-HALL OF BRUSSELS.

English had determined to send an expedition under the command of Charles

Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough. This man was the most extraordinary character of the age. His courage was a union of French impetuosity and English steadiness. His fertility and activity of mind appeared in everything he did. He was a kind friend, a generous enemy, and a thorough gentleman; but his talent and virtues were rendered almost useless by his levity, his restlessness, his irritability, his craving for novelty and excitement. Change of employment was as necessary to him as change of place. He loved to dictate six or seven letters at once. He was the last of the knights-errant; brave to temerity, liberal to profusion, the protector of the oppressed, the adorer of women. This remarkable man arrived at Lisbon in June, 1705, with five thousand Dutch and English soldiers. Then passing Gibraltar, the armament steered along the coast of Spain. The first place



GIBRALTAR: THE LIGHTHOUSE AND SIGNAL STATION.

they touched at was Altea, in Valencia, and Peterborough conceived the idea of landing and marching straight to Madrid, but it was thought more prudent to attack Barcelona. The task was one of almost insuperable difficulty. One side of the city was protected by the sea, the other by the strong fortification of Mon Juich. This fortress was garrisoned by brave and numerous soldiers. After three weeks' wearisome siege, Peterborough determined to seize the citadel by a *coup de main*. He called on the Prince of Hesse at midnight, on September 12th, and told him that he was determined to attempt an assault, and that the Prince might accompany him or not as he pleased. Peterborough marched up to the walls with fifteen hundred English soldiers, leaving a thousand behind in reserve. At daybreak the enemy came out to meet them. The English leaped into the ditch, put the Spaniards to flight, and entered the works with them. The reserves came up, the heavy cannon were brought up from Barcelona, and early in the morning the British flag waved on the ramparts. Unfortunately, the Prince of



Hesse fell in the engagement. Shortly afterwards, Barcelona itself surrendered, and the Archduke Charles entered the city in triumph on October 23rd. The



MON JUCH, FROM THE HARBOUR OF BARCELONA.

whole of Catalonia was soon won to the Austrian cause, and Valencia also opened its gates.

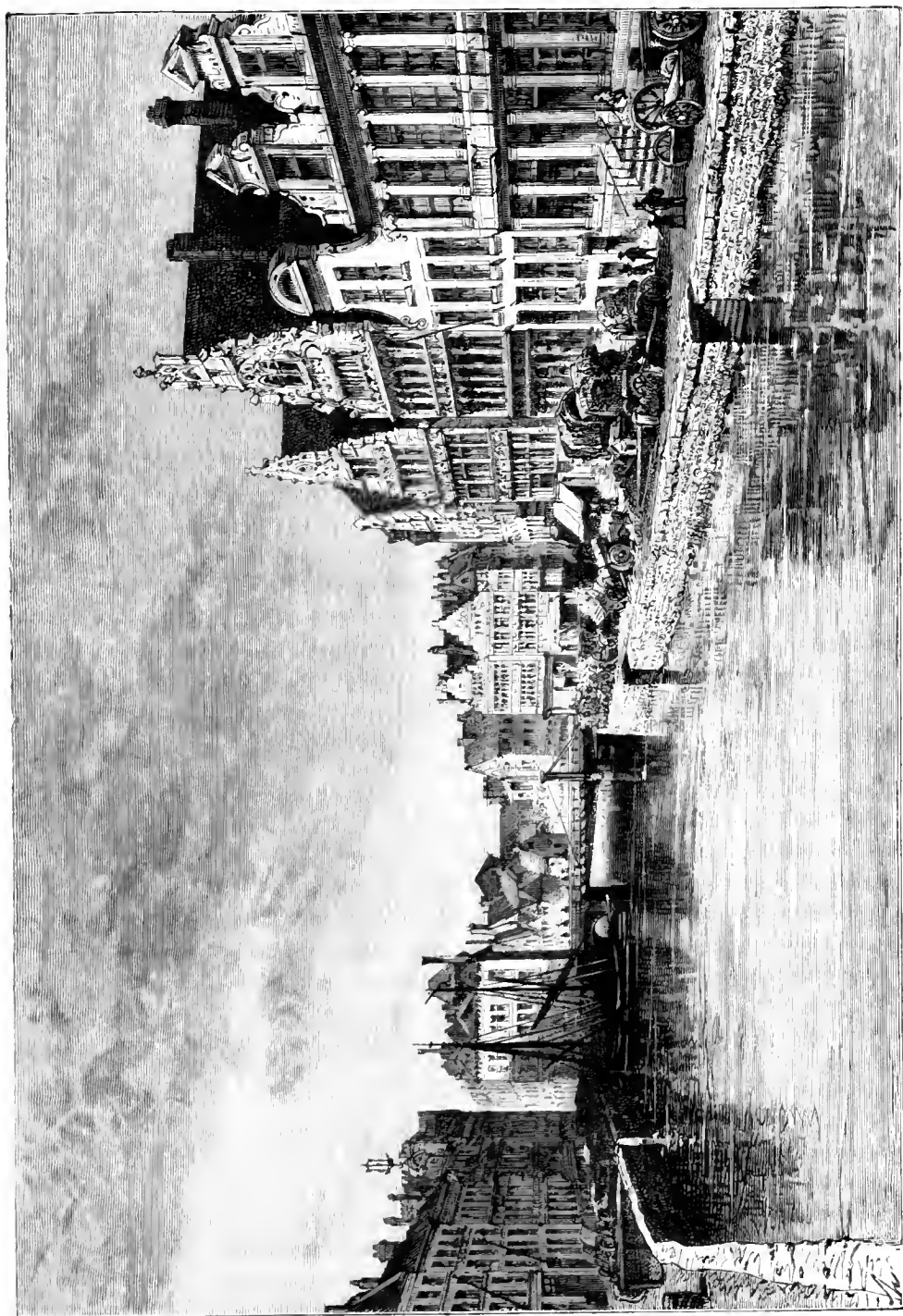
In the new Parliament, the Whigs were found to be in a majority, and in the

spring of 1706, Commissioners were appointed both by Scotland and England for settling the terms of union between the two countries, thus opening a negotiation which was eventually successful.

In Spain Peterborough had not been long at Valencia, when he heard that Barcelona was being invested both by sea and land. The besieging army was commanded by Philip V. and Marshal Tessé, and mustered twenty thousand strong, against Peterborough's three thousand. Happily, however, the French fleet retired, and the siege was raised. The Earl of Galway, who commanded the forces in Portugal, was roused with feelings of emulation. He advanced into the heart of Spain, and after taking Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca, names famous in the Peninsular War, marched on Madrid. The troops entered the capital in triumph, and proclaimed the Archduke, but the same national feeling which proved so fatal to Napoleon was now felt by the Archduke. The Spaniards identified the cause of Philip with their national independence. They rose in all directions in desultory warfare. The Archduke Charles refused to show himself in the capital, and to take a step which might have made him master of the country. Galway was eventually compelled to evacuate the city, and Peterborough, being disgusted with the sluggishness and incompetence of Charles, determined to transfer his services to another field, and joined the Duke of Savoy.

Marlborough reached the Hague on April 25th, 1706. He was prepared to adopt a daring plan of campaign. He intended with his English troops and a small number of Dutch to master Italy and join his friend, Prince Eugene, at Savoy. The Dutch strongly opposed this plan, and the Duke was obliged to yield. His forces were concentrated at Bilsen on May 20th. Marshal Villeroi determined to risk a battle. The troops were about the same number on either side. Marlborough appeared in sight of the French on Sunday, May 23rd; they were posted at the village of Ramillies and on the sloping ground which lies behind it. Villeroi placed his left at the village of Autre-église, and his right at a barrow called the Tomb of Ottomond. The approach to Ramillies was protected by two marshes. Marlborough, after surveying the ground, determined to force the French right at the Tomb of Ottomond, while he made a false attack on the left. The battle began at three o'clock in the afternoon, and the strategy of Marlborough was successful; French troops were withdrawn from the right to defend the left, and Marlborough seized the opportunity of attacking the weaker flank. In the onslaught he incurred great personal danger; he was nearly made prisoner by a number of French dragoons, and the aide-de-camp who was holding his stirrup and helping him up on horseback had his head carried away by a cannon-ball; the Duke extricated himself with difficulty and rejoined his army. The village of Ramillies was carried at half-past six, and soon after the Tomb of Ottomond, which commanded the whole field. Villeroi and the Elector of Bavaria saw that the day was lost and retired in as good order as they could manage. The English, however, pursued their advantage; the retreat quickly became a rout; the French soldiers disbanded to the right and left, and flung their muskets on the ground. All their baggage and nearly all their artillery were lost. Marlborough did not

halt till they were within a short distance of Louvain. Even in Louvain they



GHEENT.

did not consider themselves safe, but continued their flight to Brussels. The

news of the battle was gladly welcomed in England. A day of public thanksgiving was appointed, and the whole country expressed its joy. Marlborough entered Brussels and proclaimed the Austrian Archduke. Ghent and Bruges soon surrendered, and even the important fortress of Antwerp acknowledged the Austrian Prince as King Charles III. The Duke's next feat was to invest and capture Ostend, so that the whole of Flanders followed the fortune of Ramillies except a few fortified towns.

We must now return to the story of the Union with Scotland. We have already said that Commissioners to effect this object were nominated in the spring of 1706. On the English side Lord Somers was the master spirit of the whole, and the success of the negotiations was mainly due to his wisdom. The first question which arose was as to whether there should be a complete union between the two countries or one of a looser description. The English Commissioners declined to proceed on any other basis than that of a complete union, offering in turn full freedom of trade and community of citizenship. After some weeks' debate it was agreed that the trade of the two kingdoms should be subject to the same customs, excise, and all other regulations, but Scotland was exempt from a certain amount of excise for a number of years.

The question of taxation was a difficult one to arrange. There was no national debt in Scotland, whereas that of England amounted to seventeen millions. Scotland could not be expected to contribute to the interest of this debt without the receipt of an equivalent, which, after much abstruse calculations, was settled at £398,085 10s. The money was to be applied first to paying off some debts of the Government, then to paying off the capital of the African Company, and the balance in raising the Scotch coin to the English standard. The land tax was proportioned to the different circumstances of the two countries. Scotch rentals were set at about the fortieth part of English rentals.

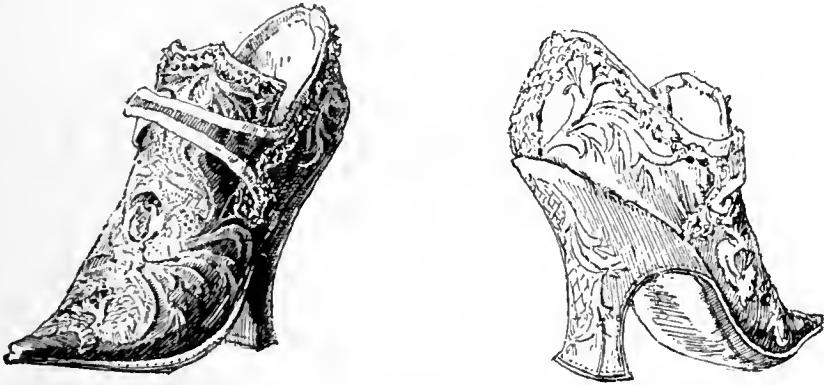
Another difficult matter was that of parliamentary representation. It was difficult to see on what basis this was to be arranged. The basis of taxation would only add thirteen members to the five hundred and fifteen who represented England, whereas on the basis of population she would be entitled to no less than a hundred and seventy-two. Eventually the Scotch Commissioners demanded fifty, while the English Commissioners offered thirty-eight, and by a compromise the number was fixed at forty-five. They were given a similar proportion in the upper house, where sixteen elected members represented the peerage of Scotland. At the same time the dignity of the whole Scotch peerage was in certain ways increased.

The system of Scotch law, to which that country was warmly devoted, was retained unaltered, while the Presbyterian Church was regarded as the Established Church of the northern kingdom. On July 22nd, 1706, the Articles of Union were signed by twenty-seven English and twenty-six Scotch Commissioners. It now remained to place them before the Parliaments of the two nations.

The Scotch Parliament met on October 3rd. The opposition was led by Hamilton and supported by the Jacobites. Attempts were made to secure the co-operation of Louis XIV. The Duke of Athol and Fletcher of Saltoun took

the same side. A wild mob was gathered outside the Parliament house, which hooted at and hustled all supporters of the union. At one time there was danger of a serious riot, and on October 24th several houses in Edinburgh were attacked. As might be expected, the opponents of the Union combined many conflicting parties. The extreme Whigs declared that the independence of their country was being sacrificed. The Jacobites would not willingly surrender their hopes for the restoration of a Stuart king, while the Cameronians held that the proposed Union was a breach of the Solemn League and Covenant. After a long debate the first article was passed on November 4th, 1706, by a majority of thirty-three. This having been done, an Act for the security of the Presbyterian Church was passed without difficulty. On November 19th the house passed the third article, and the whole business was completed on January 14th, 1707. The praise of piloting this measure through the Scotch parliament is mainly due to the Duke of Queensberry, who presided as High Commissioner with admirable tact and wisdom.

The English parliament met on December 3rd, and took the Articles of Union



EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SHOES.

into consideration on February 3rd, 1707. In the House of Commons the measure was passed without difficulty; and, in the opinion of some, with undue haste. In the Peers there was more vigorous debate. An Act was passed securing the permanence of the English Church in a similar manner to that of the sister country. On March 6th, 1707, the Queen gave her consent to the Union in person and said, "I desire and expect from all my subjects of both nations that from henceforth they act with all possible respect and kindness to one another, that it may appear to all the world that they have hearts disposed to become one people."

The Act of Union thus passed consisted of twenty-five articles, the first of which provided that on May 1st, 1707, and for ever after, the kingdoms of England and Scotland shall be united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain. The two next articles determined that the succession to the monarchy of Great Britain should follow the Act of Settlement, and that the united kingdom shall be represented by one parliament. It was further arranged that the subjects of both kingdoms should have common rights and privileges; that when England raised

two million pounds by a land-tax, Scotland should raise forty-eight thousand pounds; that the standards of coin, weights, and measures should be the same in both countries; that the laws relating to trade, custom, and excise, should be the same in Scotland as in England, but that all other laws of Scotland should remain in force; that Scotland should be represented by sixteen peers in the House of Lords, and by forty-five members in the House of Commons, while all peers of Scotland should be peers of Great Britain and possess equal privileges, except the power of sitting in the House of Lords; that two Acts of security for the Church of England and the Church of Scotland respectively were inserted in the articles, and declared fundamental and essential conditions of the Union.

Thus was passed a measure which has been for a hundred and eighty years a

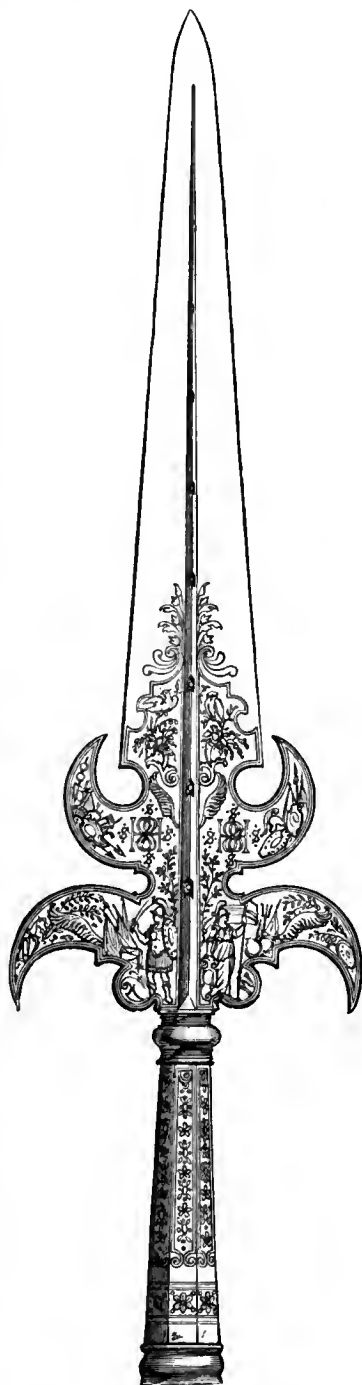


RUINS OF THE SAVOY.

source of great prosperity to both countries. A petty town on the Clyde has become one of the most important cities in Great Britain. The southern counties have exchanged their scanty crops of oats for rich harvests of wheat. The condition of the Highlands has been improved, and in no respect has the national spirit been diminished. On the other side England has been freed from a rival who too often took the side of her enemies. The Scotch, who used to be regarded as hungry aspirants for the plunder of England, have made themselves conspicuous in every branch of administration and commerce. They have fought our battles, manned our fleets, and filled our counting-houses. The Scotch union has produced a spirit of friendship and contentment between the two countries, which the Irish union has as yet been unable to secure.

We must now return to the war in Spain. Peterborough landed at Barcelona at the end of 1706, bringing with him a large sum of money, which he had raised in Italy. He proceeded slowly to Valencia, where Charles was residing. For a wonder his counsels were in favour of remaining on the defensive, but he was outvoted by the other generals, and shortly afterwards was recalled to England in disgrace. Galway determined to make a forward march, with the view of recovering Madrid. They came in sight of the army of the Duke of Berwick at Almanza, on April 25th, 1707. The French army had received a reinforcement of nearly twenty thousand men, so that it was now stronger than that of the allies. The consequence was that Galway was entirely defeated, with a heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The provinces of Valencia and Aragon were lost to King Charles, and Catalonia alone remained faithful to the Austrian cause.

About the same time a strange episode occurred in the history of Marlborough. Charles XII. of Sweden, having conquered Poland, had marched into Saxony, which was connected with that kingdom, and fixed his camp at Altranstadt, in the neighbourhood of Leipzig. It was supposed that he might be inclined to take part in the European war, and Marlborough was chosen to approach him upon the subject. Louis XIV. was doing his best to gain Sweden for the French alliance. Neither party, however, prevailed. Charles, after concluding peace, left Saxony to attack Peter the Great, and began a campaign which ended in the defeat of Pultowa, on July 8th, 1709. The only other warlike event of this year was the siege of Toulon, by an English fleet, under Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Not only did the expedition fail, but the fleet was wrecked at the Scilly Islands on its return home. Just at this time Harley was beginning to supplant the influence of Marlborough with the Queen. For this purpose he employed the services of Abigail Hill, now Mrs. Masham. She was cousin both to Harley and to the Duchess of Marlborough, and had been placed by the latter in the service of the



HEAD OF STATE PIKE.

Queen. Her bright, courteous, and pliant manner was a strong contrast to the overbearing temper of Sarah Jennings. The differences between the two parties arose on Church matters. The Queen was devoted to the High Church, which was supported by the Tories; whereas Marlborough, Godolphin, and the Whigs, rather favoured the Low Church. When the bishoprics of Exeter and Chester fell vacant, Anne appointed two High Churchmen to the sees. This was put down to the influence of Harley, but the Queen assumed the whole responsibility, and declared that Harley had nothing to do with it. Marlborough, however, and Godolphin, were not appeased, and they determined to effect Harley's overthrow. It was in the midst of these intrigues that Parliament met, on October 23rd, 1707.

The first act of Parliament was to vote a supply of six millions for the war; but instead of moving an address in answer to the Queen's speech, the House of Lords went in a committee on the state of the nation. The Whigs made an attack upon Marlborough and Godolphin, who were thought to monopolise too large a share of court favour. Admiral Churchill, the brother of the Duke, was violently impugned. Most remarkable was the fact, that in these debates Nottingham and Rochester, who were Tories, allied themselves with Semers, Halifax, and the Whigs. Marlborough always considered himself as above party, and as merely the instrument of government, and the servant of his sovereign. Seeing, therefore, that the Whigs were certain to return to power, he hastened to reconcile himself with them. At this moment an opportunity occurred to get a bill against Harley. It was found that William Gregg, an under clerk in Harley's office, was in the habit of selling political information to the French government. No one supposed that Harley was privy to this transaction, but it was evident that affairs were conducted in the office with great carelessness. Rough drafts of letters intended for the Queen's signature were left lying upon the desks, open to the inspection of every clerk, messenger, or laundress in the establishment. The books in which the letters were copied were never locked up. The most important secrets of state, plans of campaigns, projected descents on the enemy's coasts, negotiations with foreign powers were confided to a set of clerks who were struggling on £50 a year. Gregg was hanged at Tyburn for his offence, in April, 1708. Before he died he exculpated Harley from all share in his offence, but Marlborough and Godolphin declined to sit at the same board with Harley, and pressed the Queen to dismiss him. She struggled against destiny as long as she could, but was at length obliged to give way, and told Marlborough with bitterness that the minister whom he disliked should no longer remain in her service. St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, left office at the same time. Harley was succeeded by Henry Boyle, and St. John by Robert Walpole. Marlborough and Godolphin were now in a position of undisputed power, but the Queen cherished a secret grudge against them.

At this juncture news arrived that the Pretender, the son of James II., was in Dunkirk, where a fleet had been collected, and was intending to embark with a considerable army for the coast of Scotland. The news caused great consternation.



The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. The money market was violently shaken, and there was a run upon the bank. At this time Scotland was in a state of disaffection. The Union had caused considerable irritation, especially with regard



CHARGE OF CAVALRY.

to the collection of excise, which was effected in a different manner to that which the Scotch had been accustomed to. The customs also were received with much contempt, and the result was an increase of smuggling. The equivalent which

was due from England on passing the Union, was not readily paid, and part of it was in paper money. When, therefore, Colonel Hook arrived in Scotland from the court of St. Germain, in March, 1707, he found the people in a frenzy of indignation. A certain number of noblemen signed a memorial to James III., promising that the country would rise as soon as he made his appearance. They were, however, unwilling to give him money, or promise him troops. Louis XIV. paid the Pretender a visit on his departure, and when James promised to return thanks in person for his kindness, replied, "The best wish that I can form for your Majesty, is that I may never see you again." At Dunkirk James found a magnificent equipage, sumptuous tents, services of gold and silver plate, and richly dressed dragoons, who were to serve as a body guard. Yet the expedition was an entire failure. It set sail on March 6th, and reached the Firth of Forth on the evening of March 12th. It was intended to disembark on the following morning, but at sunrise on March 13th the horizon to the south was seen studded with sails. Admiral Byng was in hot pursuit. In vain did James beg to be landed. The French commander cut his cables, crowded all sail, and ran away as fast as



EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SHOE.

he could. One of his ships was captured by the English. He reached Dunkirk on April 7th. Marlborough crossed the Channel at the end of March. The plan of campaign was agreed upon between the Duke, Prince Eugene, and Heinsius, Grand Pensionary of Holland, the bosom friend of William III. It was intended that Marlborough should remain in the Netherlands, that Eugene should unite his army with that of the Elector of Hanover, and that they should combine to crush the

French in the Low Countries. This scheme, however, failed from the unwillingness of George to support Eugene. The army of Vendôme was in the neighbourhood of Mons. It appeared that his first intention was to attack either Brussels or Louvain, but he unexpectedly obtained possession of the important towns of Ghent and Bruges, and then proceeded to lay siege to the town of Oudenarde. Marlborough immediately broke up his camp, and without waiting for Eugene, hastened to attack the enemy. Eugene, however, hurried to join his comrade. As the French commanders were crossing the Scheldt, five miles below Oudenarde, they suddenly heard that the enemy were at hand. The battle did not begin till three in the afternoon. Although the French had a strong position, they posted their troops in such a way as to make them of little use, and they were further hampered by the divided command between Vendôme and the Duke of Burgundy, the grandson of Louis XIV. The battle was very hotly contested, and was fought on July 11th, 1708, during the evening of a summer's day, and did not end till nightfall. After a stubborn resistance the French sullenly retreated with the loss of six thousand killed and wounded, and nine thousand prisoners. The

Electoral Prince of Hanover, afterwards George II. of England, showed great bravery in a skirmish which preceded the battle. His horse was shot under him, and one of his friends was killed by his side. The result of the battle was that Ghent and Bruges were recaptured. The campaign closed with the siege of Lille, the masterpiece of Vauban, one of the strongest cities in Europe. This siege lasted three months, the city not being taken till December 29th. It attracted great attention in Europe and many visitors came to see the operations, among them Augustus, Elector of Saxony. It is said that a son of his, a boy of twelve years old, afterwards the famous Maréchal de Saxe, hearing that a siege was going on, set off to walk three hundred and fifty miles in order to see the sight.

Another event of this campaign was the capture of the Island of Minorca, by General Stuart, in conjunction with Admiral Leake. It was a possession of great value, and was in some respects even more advantageous than the Island of Malta, which is considered of such great importance to the naval supremacy of England at the present day.

Notwithstanding the glory which attached to the name of Marlborough, the breach between his wife and the Queen was widening. It is said that when the Duchess of Marlborough accompanied the Queen to St. Paul's cathedral, to return thanks for the victory of Oudenarde, they quarrelled in the state coach, and that the bickering continued even at the cathedral itself, where it is said that on Queen Anne attempting to reply, the Duchess told her to hold her tongue. The



SEAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

Queen's resolution was further shaken by the death of her husband, Prince George of Denmark, on October 28th, 1708. He had suffered for many years from incurable asthma, and had been nursed by his wife with great affection. He had held the office of Lord High Admiral, which now became vacant. Opportunity was taken to satisfy the demands of the Whigs. Lord Pembroke was put in his place, having long been connected with that office. Wharton was made Lord lieutenant of Ireland, and Somers President of the Council.

The new parliament met on November 16th, 1708, the Whigs being in the majority. One of its first acts was to amend the law of treason. The law of Scotland was assimilated to that of England, and the use of torture was abolished. At the same time an Act of Grace was passed, pardoning all those who had committed treason before the new Act was in existence. Another subject which engaged the legislature was the freedom of ambassadors from arrest. As the Russian Ambassador was driving down the Haymarket, his coach was stopped by

bailiffs, and a man jumped in and collared him. Thinking he was a thief, the ambassador struggled vigorously, and was eventually dragged with his coat torn, his sword broken, and his hat and wig knocked off, into some refreshment rooms. He was afterwards taken to a dirty public-house, called the Black Raven, where he had to stay the whole night. On inquiry it was found that there was no law by which the assault could be punished, and a special Act of Parliament had to be passed for the purpose, which still exists.

The finance of the country was in a flourishing condition. Supplies were granted to the extent of six millions and a half, and the Bank of England was

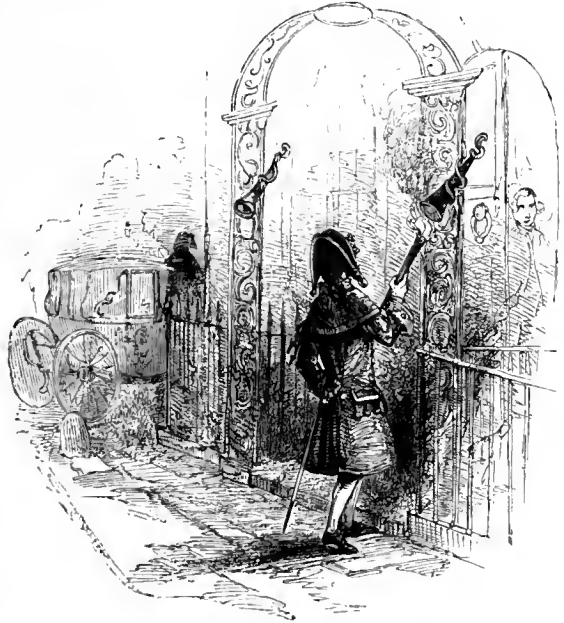


FIRST FIRE-ENGINE.

enabled to double its capital. So great was the confidence felt in it that a sum of two millions was immediately subscribed.

On the other hand, the state of France was very deplorable. The winter had been extremely severe. A frost of great intensity prevailed for a long time, so that vines and olives were destroyed. The price of bread, which deeply affected the happiness of the people, rose to an enormous height. The poorest classes in Paris died by thousands. A commercial crisis arose, both in Paris and at Lyons. The value of the currency was depreciated, and the coinage was debased. Louis XIV. determined to negotiate, and sent to Holland, as his representative, Rouillé, President of the Chamber of Accounts. He was empowered to offer Spain, the Indies, the Netherlands, and the Milanese; to concede a barrier treaty to the

Dutch, provided that his grandson might retain the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and if possible the island of Sardinia. Marlborough and Godolphin were apparently in favour of accepting these proposals, but the Whigs thought that they were insufficient. They demanded that the king should be asked to guarantee the Protestant succession in England, and to expel the Pretender from his dominions. Also, that Dunkirk should be destroyed, and that, if necessary, he should compel the king of Spain to abdicate. Marlborough, who had come back to England, returned to the Hague with even more severe demands. Torcy, the Foreign Minister, left Paris to confer with him in person. Louis was now ready to abandon the whole of the



IN QUEEN ANNE'S TIME.

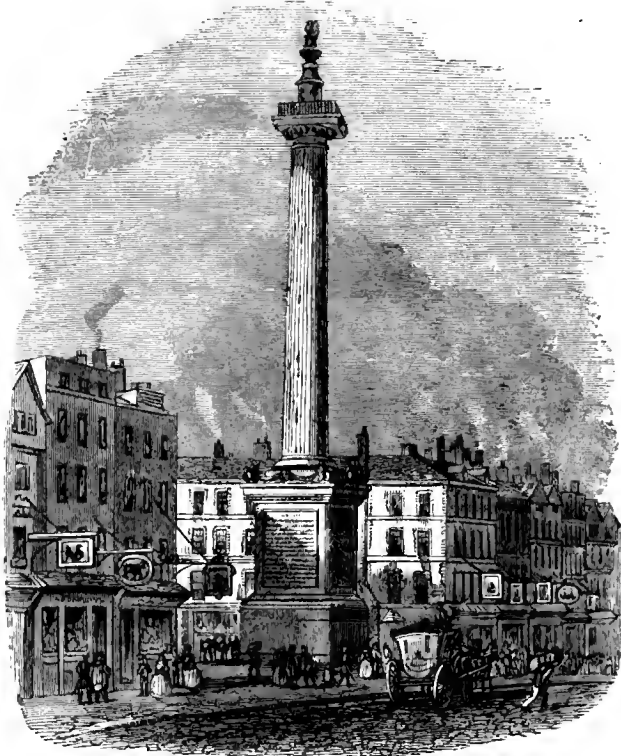
Spanish inheritance, but each of the allies required still greater sacrifices. The Emperor demanded not only Strasburg, but the whole of Alsace. England wished for the surrender of all claims on Newfoundland. The Duke of Savoy insisted on retaining the towns of Fenestrelles and Exilles, which he had just taken. The last insult, as we before said, was to demand from Louis that if the Duke of Anjou did not agree with the terms of peace, he should join the allies in compelling him to surrender. There could be little doubt what answer Louis would return to these insulting demands. The rupture of the negotiations had no other cause than this—that the allies insisted on sacrifices which no man of honour could grant. He made an appeal to the affection and patriotism of his people, who, although exhausted to the last degree, responded nobly to the request.



IN QUEEN ANNE'S TIME.

The hopes of peace being at an end, Marlborough and Eugene took the field on June 24th, 1709. They mustered a hundred and twenty thousand strong in the plain before Lille. Their object was to attack the French lines, to spread themselves over the interior of France, and to march on Paris.

All attempts to draw Villars to an engagement failed, and the lines were found too strong to attack. The allies, therefore, turned their attention to the siege of Tournay, which capitulated on July 28th; the citadel holding out till the beginning of September. After some further operations, Villars took up a strong position at Malplaquet. Between the French and the allies intervened a broad belt of woods. About five miles to the south of Mons there was an opening, about a mile in breadth, through which Villars determined to march against the enemy. The French halted at Malplaquet, cut down trees, and made strong entrenchments. The ground thus fortified, was made still more difficult of access by streams and hedges. September 10th was spent by both sides in preparation, and



MONUMENT (EIGHTEENTH CENTURY).

the two armies were so close that the advance guards could communicate with each other. The battle began on the morning of the following day. The right under Marlborough and Eugene were the first to move, and they made but little impression on the enormous strength of the French position. The command of the left had been committed to the young Prince of Orange, and orders had been given him to do nothing, in order that his troops might afterwards be used for reinforcing the allied right. Impatient, however, of being left idle, he advanced on his own

account, and when the two principal commanders turned their attention to that wing they found that everything was in disorder. Both Eugene and Villars were wounded; the latter, indeed, was obliged to retire from the field.

The battle had now lasted four hours, and the allies had gained but slight advantage. Just at this moment, the French centre was weakened for the purpose of reinforcing the left. A vigorous attack at this point was more successful, and the allies entered the French lines. At last, however, Boufflers, who had succeeded to the command, discovered that his army was cut right in two, and that his left was retiring. He therefore ordered a retreat in the direction of Valenciennes. The loss of the allies was far greater than that of the French, who had fought under

cover ; and although Malplaquet must be considered as one of the most glorious of Marlborough's battles, it was almost a victory for the other side. The campaign was closed by the surrender of Mons on October 20th.

We must turn from these matters of international interest to a question of purely domestic character, namely, the impeachment of Doctor Sacheverell. He was the son of a clergyman, and had been to Oxford at the age of fifteen, where he had shared rooms with Addison, who dedicated to him one of his earliest compositions. Addison went to London ; Sacheverell remained at Magdalene as fellow and tutor ; but he afterwards retired to the distant living of Cannock, in Staffordshire. He came into notice by being elected to the office of preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, where he was able to pronounce his opinions as a very high Churchman, and to give vent to his particular antipathies. In August, 1709, he preached at the Derby Assizes, and printed his sermon by request. This was followed up by a far more violent sermon, preached in St. Paul's, before the Lord Mayor, on November



LINEN HALL, BELFAST.

5th. It was one continuous attack on the Whig administration. The Court of Aldermen declined to give Sacheverell the customary vote of thanks, but the Lord Mayor, being a Tory, asked that the sermon might be printed, and accepted the dedication of it. It had an enormous sale, greater than that of any other pamphlet published up to that time. He attacked Godolphin, under the name of Volpone, and excited his most bitter hatred. Somers and the crown lawyers recommended that Sacheverell should be prosecuted in the ordinary manner, but Godolphin insisted on the doctor being impeached. He was summoned to the bar of the House, where he made but a poor defence, but refused to apologise. The impeachment, therefore, went on. No trial had created so much excitement since that of the seven bishops. Westminster Hall was fitted up for the purpose by Sir Christopher Wren. The Peers were seated on the floor, the Commons on benches rising in tiers on the right, and the spectators on the left. There was a box for the Queen, and one for the ambassadors. The trial was opened on February 27th,

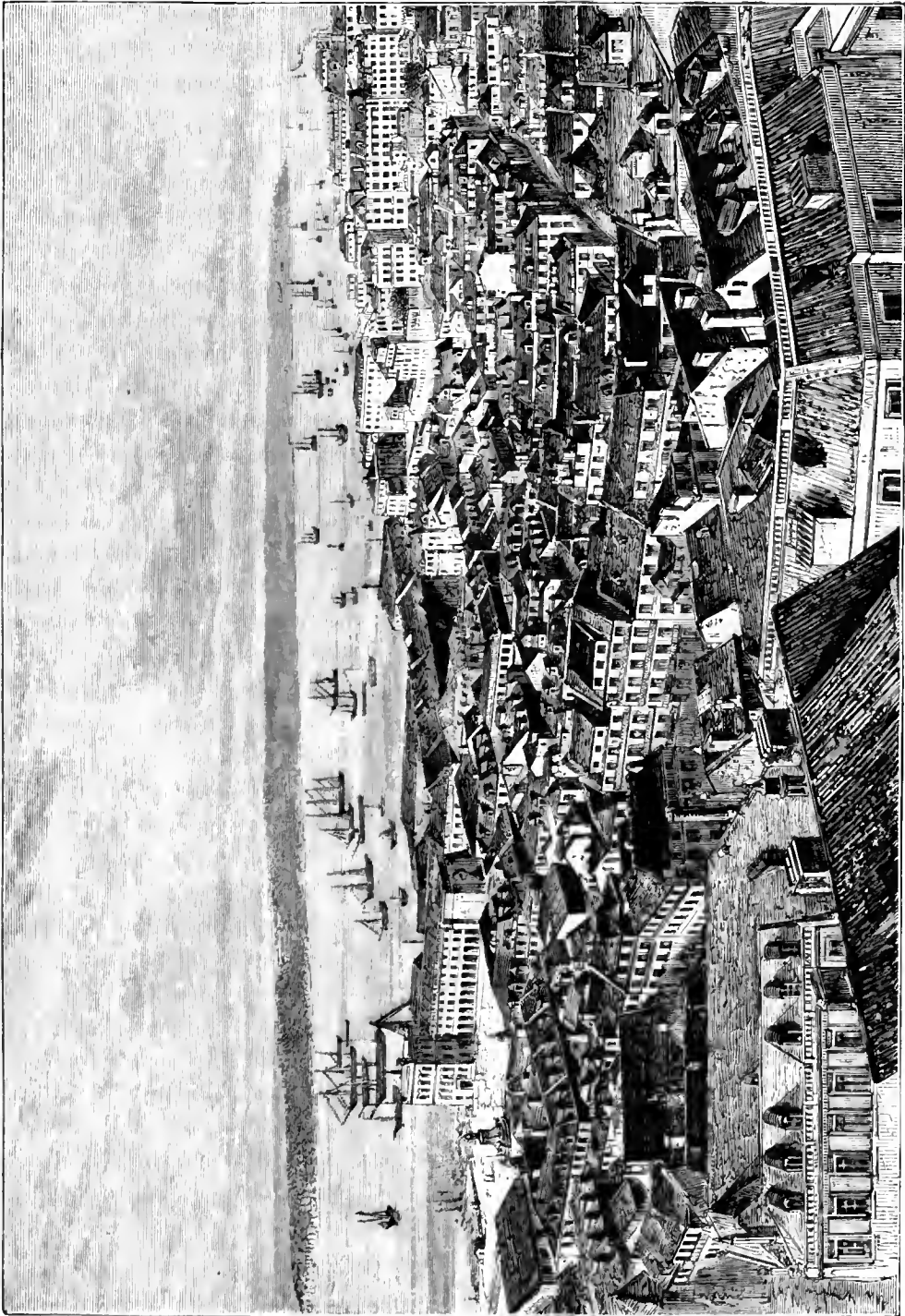
1710, and on that day the Queen went down to the House to give her consent to certain Bills. As she passed in her sedan chair, cries were heard of "God bless your Majesty and the Church," "We hope your Majesty is for Doctor Sacheverell." As the Doctor returned from Westminster Hall to his lodgings, crowds thronged to kiss his hand.

The trial lasted for three weeks. The Queen was present in her box almost every day. The arguments seemed to turn on the legality of the revolution of 1688, on the question whether it was lawful to resist the supreme power. Excitement soon developed into outrage. Dissenting meeting-houses in London were attacked by the mob, and the soldiers had to be called out to quell the riot. On the eighth day of the trial, Sacheverell closed the defence by reading a speech of great force and beauty. He said that he had no malicious intention in anything that he had preached. He did not desire to condemn the revolution, but only to promote the loyalty and obedience of his fellow-subjects. The speech was circulated throughout the kingdom. Eventually the Peers decided that Sacheverell was guilty, by a majority of sixty-nine against fifty-two. It was, however, difficult to agree about his punishment. It was proposed that he should be prevented from preaching for three years, that during that time he should be prohibited from receiving preferment, and that his sermon should be burnt by the common hangman; but the first and third of these alone were carried. The mildness of the sentence was regarded as a triumph for the Tories. The houses in London were illuminated and bonfires blazed in the streets. On March 23rd, Sacheverell being called up to hear his sentence, thanked the lords for the clemency they had shown him. The doctor, debarred from preaching, was in great demand for reading the service. Crowds flocked to hear him, children were baptised by him, and called after his name. His supporters decorated themselves with the oak-leaf, which was the Stuart badge. He was presented with a rich living in Wales, and on setting out to claim it, was accompanied by mayors and aldermen in a festive progress. All this excitement was the result of political feeling, but the whole of the excitement caused a more violent reaction.

The tide of popular feeling gave great encouragement to the Tory party. Anne, of her own accord, dismissed the Marquis from his office of Lord Chamberlain, which she gave to the Duke of Shrewsbury, a man whose manners had won for him the title of the King of Hearts. He was a Whig, but had opposed his party in the recent trial. The seals were taken away from the Earl of Sunderland, and given to Lord Dartmouth, a strong Tory and High Churchman. This caused alarm in the country. The funds fell, and public credit was affected; but Anne continued her course. In August Godolphin himself received his dismissal, and Harley was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was practically prime minister. Somers ceased to be President of the Council on September 21st, 1710, and St. John was made Secretary of State on the same day. The Tory character of the ministry was completed by other appointments of the same kind. Harley now determined to dissolve Parliament, and to appeal to the feeling of the country, which had been so deeply stirred by recent events.



Whilst these affairs were going on, negotiations had been renewed for the



LISBON.

conclusion of peace. A conference was opened at Gertruydenburg, in April, 1710, which lasted till July in the same year. They broke off on the same differences

of opinion which had before occurred. Louis agreed to give up ten fortresses in Flanders, to serve as a barrier to the Dutch against French aggression. He consented to surrender not only Strasburg, but also the strong fortress of Luxemburg, and the town of Breisach to the empire, the fortresses of Exilles and Fenestrelles to the Duke of Savoy. The English were to be satisfied by the entire cession of the island of Newfoundland, and the extinction of the French claims upon it. As before, he surrendered the crown of Spain to the Archduke Charles, but the one thing that he would not promise was to assist the allies to expel his grandson from Madrid, in case he should refuse to abdicate the throne of Spain. He was ready to make any sacrifice but that of honour.

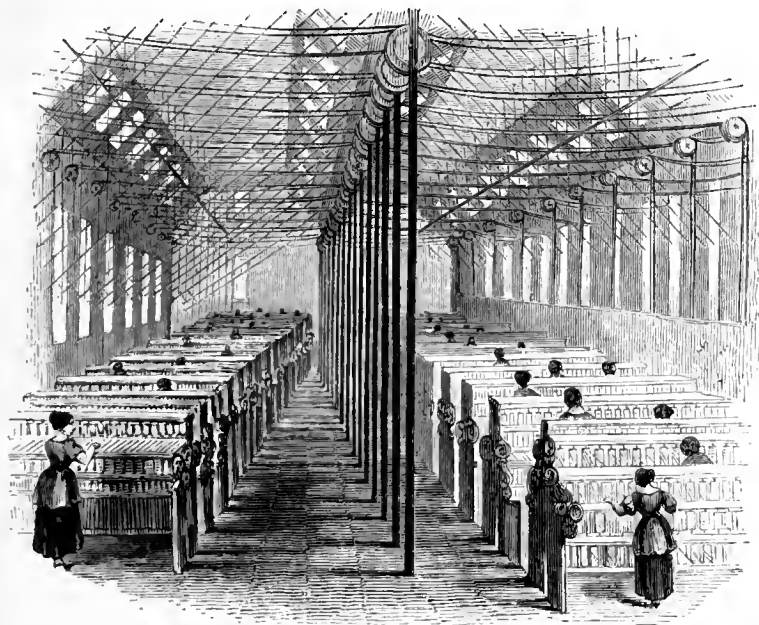
Important events were also occurring in Spain. An army assembled in Catalonia, under the command of Stanhope and Stahremberg, in the spring of 1710. King Charles was holding his court at Barcelona. About the middle of July they began to advance against Philip, and engaged his forces at Almenara on July 27th. Philip was defeated, and retreated towards Saragossa. On August 20th, another battle of even greater importance took place close to this city. Philip now fell back on Madrid, which he was soon obliged to leave, and Charles made his triumphal entry into the capital on September 28th. He found the city a desert. The inhabitants shut themselves up in their houses, and refused to pay him any respect. They felt that although they were in possession of the capital they had done little or nothing towards conquering the kingdom. They waited till November for the Portuguese army which never came, and in the last month of the year they sent back the Archduke to Barcelona, and began to retreat towards Aragon.

A terrible prospect of hunger, cold, and hardship lay before the allied army. No stores of any description had been collected. The wintry ground was devoid of vegetation. In order to have a better chance of subsistence, Stanhope determined to separate from Stahremberg, and march to Brihuega, whilst the German troops made for Cifuentes. Here they were unexpectedly attacked by Vendôme, who had marched a hundred and thirty miles in the space of a week. Stanhope made the best defence he could, and in vain waited for the assistance of Stahremberg, which never came. At last he was forced to capitulate. Although Stahremberg had received Stanhope's demand for assistance at midnight, he did not march till ten the next morning, and he consumed the whole day in a fruitless advance. At mid-day, on December 10th, he came up with the Spanish troops at Villa Viciosa. The battle which ensued was undecided, and the right wing on either side gained an advantage. Stahremberg had to retreat, and joined Charles at Barcelona. It was now felt that his cause in Spain was hopeless.

The Tories did not lose the opportunity which this defeat gave them for repressing the Whigs. The House of Lords examined into the whole conduct of the war in Spain. They gave a vote of thanks to Lord Peterborough for his great and eminent services in that country; and at the same time they censured Lord Galway, who was a Whig. They enlisted the pen of Swift into their service, and he was employed to write down the popularity of Marlborough. This, how-

ever, did not diminish the general's influence with the mass of the people, and when he reached London he was received with great enthusiasm. The Queen, however, was little affected by these demonstrations. She determined to dismiss the Duchess from her offices. The Duke in vain interceded for his wife, and his arguments only made her more obstinate. She broke into a rage, and insisted that the Duchess's gold key of office should be given up to her immediately.

The Tories made a further attempt to alter the character of the House of Commons, and to make it more of their own complexion. They, therefore, passed a Bill to make a qualification in landed property a necessary condition to a seat in Parliament. The limit was to be three hundred a year for the representatives of towns, and six hundred a year for knights of the shire. The Bill failed in its



LINEN MILLS, BELFAST.

effect, as it was persistently evaded, and was eventually repealed in 1858, as being of no sort of use.

Just at this time a startling event occurred in the Privy Council. A certain Abbé de Bourlie, a French refugee, was living in England in the service of the government, under the name of the Marquis de Guiscard. He was on terms of great intimacy with St. John and Godolphin. Being reduced to great straits he was awarded a pension of five hundred a year. This, however, was soon reduced to four hundred, and was not regularly paid. He now offered his services to the French ministers as a spy, but his letters were intercepted, and a warrant was issued for his apprehension. He was arrested while walking into St. James's Park, and was taken to the cockpit for examination by the Privy Council. He was first confined in one of the rooms used by the clerks. His pockets had been

searched, but he managed to get possession of a penknife which he found lying upon a desk. When he was brought before the Council he was greatly agitated. St. John upbraided him for his treachery, and exhorted him to make a confession. He asked permission to speak with him in private, but this was refused. He then moved up towards Harley, who was sitting at the table, stooped down as if to whisper, and stabbed him in the breast. The blade of the penknife broke against the bone. Guiscard repeated the blow and made a rush towards St. John. A scene of wild confusion ensued. St. John cried out, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley," drew his sword, and made several passes at Guiscard. The messengers ran in, and the unhappy man, who tossed and writhed about like a madman, was at length thrown down and secured. He implored the Duke of Ormond to kill him, but he turned coldly away, saying, "That is not the business for a gentleman, but for some one else." Guiscard was dragged away half dead. Indeed, he died eight days afterwards from his wounds.

There is no reason to suppose that this attack was premeditated, although it gave rise to a number of wild rumours. They said that a horrible plot had been discovered, that an attempt had been made on the Queen's life, that the Pretender was on the high seas, and had even landed on the coast. Harley soon recovered, but during his illness he met with great sympathy. The two Houses presented an address to the Queen, in which it was stated that Guiscard was a French papist, and they begged that the laws against Roman Catholics might be strictly enforced. When Harley recovered he was publicly congratulated by the Speaker, and his plan for establishing a South-Sea Company was passed with unfortunate ease. The Occasional Conformity Act, which had been previously rejected by the Lords in three successive years, was now passed by the Lords, twelve new peers being made to secure its acceptance. It provided that if any officer, civil or military, or any magistrate of a corporation, who had not received the sacrament according to the Test Act of Charles II., should, during the time of his office, attend any conventicle or dissenting meeting, he should forfeit forty pounds and be incapable of holding any office or employment in England. At the same time a grant of £350,000 was given to the Queen for building fifty additional churches in London and Westminster. This gave wide scope to those architects who were reared in the school of Wren, and filled the capital with churches of much beauty, but often left empty by the ebb of population. On May 29th, 1711, the anniversary of the Restoration, Harley was made Lord Treasurer, having been previously raised to the peerage as Earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

In the spring of 1711, the Emperor Joseph of Austria died, and was succeeded by his brother, the Archduke Charles. This completely changed the aspect of affairs with regard to the Spanish succession. If Spain were conquered for him he would be in possession of an empire equal to that of Charles V. The house of Hapsburg would be substituted for the house of Bourbon, and more than half civilised Europe would obey the will of one man. It was obvious that this state of things must lead eventually to peace, but for the present the war went on. Marlborough, however, began the campaign with a diminished army, and the

ministry at home were more intent on his humiliation than careful for the honour of their country. During the autumn and the winter, Villars had constructed strongly-fortified lines in the neighbourhood of Cambray. He boasted that these were impregnable, but Marlborough contrived to force them by a masterly stratagem. He drew up his army in order of battle, and threatened an attack upon the lines, which everybody thought would be as sanguinary as that of Malplaquet. While Villars was collecting his troops, and preparing for a general action, he detached twelve thousand men towards the left, who found a portion of the lines entirely undefended. At nightfall, he struck his tents and followed the advance guard with the mass of his army, thus entering the lines without the loss of a single man. He then proceeded to invest Bouchain, which surrendered on September 14th.

During this campaign, negotiations for peace had been going on. Matthew Prior, the poet, represented English interests, while Louis employed Menager, a merchant of Rouen. Great pains were taken to keep the negotiations secret. At length, however, terms of accommodation were agreed upon. Louis bound himself



TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

to acknowledge Anne as Queen of Great Britain, and to recognise the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover. It was agreed that a new treaty of commerce should be drawn up between the two nations. The fortifications at Dunkirk were to be demolished. Gibraltar and Port Mahon, in the island of Minorca, were to remain in the hands of the English. The island of Newfoundland was to be ceded to the English, but certain rights of catching and curing fish were to be reserved to the French. The last article was a strange one. It confirmed to England the so-called *asiento*, or compact, which gave the right to engage in the Spanish slave trade. A corresponding agreement with the Dutch was signed the same day. It contained provisions which prevented the union of the crowns of France and Spain, and surrendered to the Dutch a number of fortresses as a barrier against invasion on the side of France. The Austrian government were extremely angry with what had happened, and they expressed themselves in such strong language that their ambassador was ordered to leave England. The Dutch also made some difficulties, but these were got over, and the congress for the conclusion of peace was summoned to meet at Utrecht.

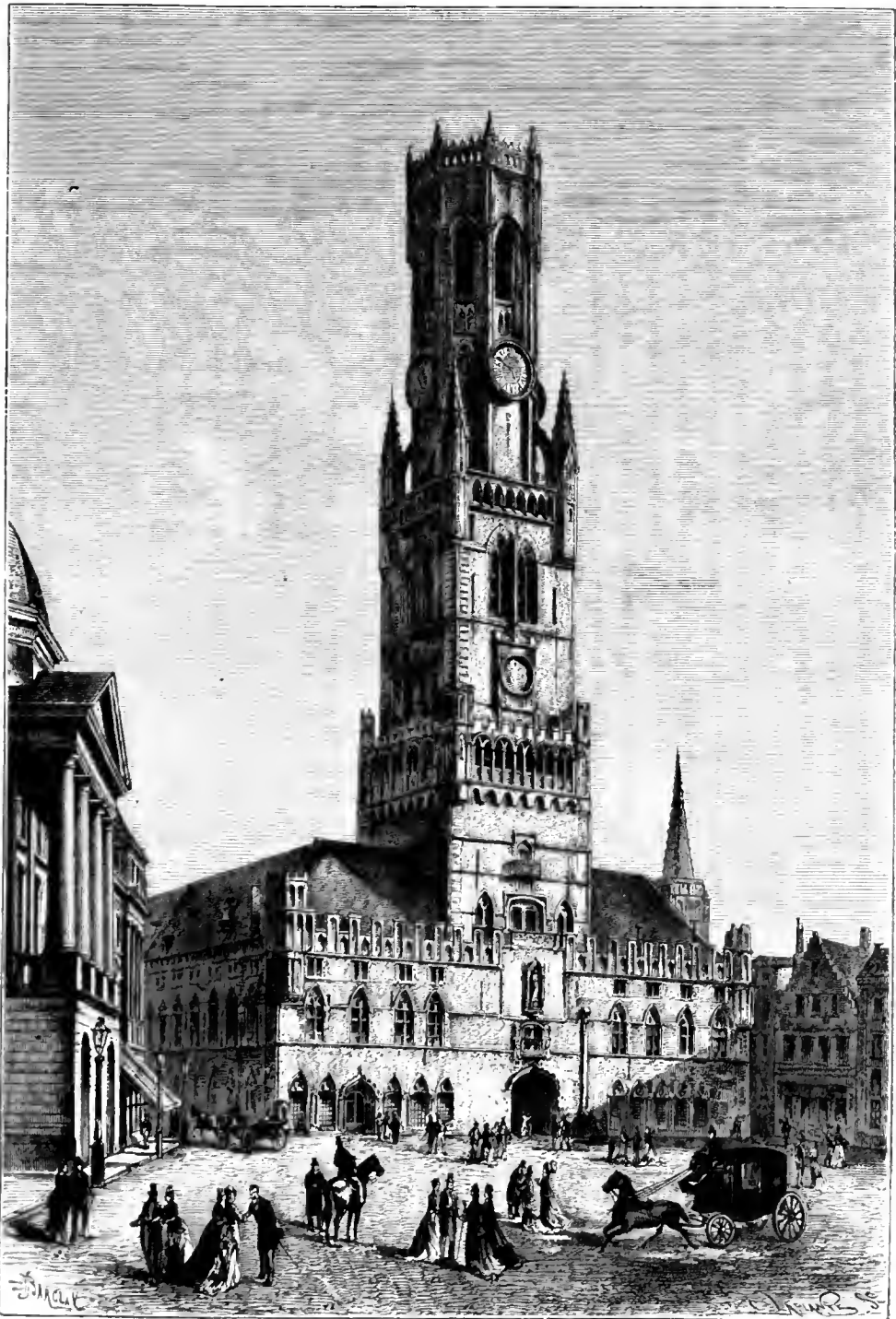
The success of the Tories in passing the Occasional Conformity Bill emboldened them to attack the Duke of Marlborough. A commission of public accounts, consisting entirely of Tories, accused the Whig Ministry of having received a sum of thirty-five millions which had never been accounted for. Also, a certain Jew, Sir Solomon Medina, who held a contract for supplying waggons for the army, gave evidence that during the last four years he had made an annual present of nearly six thousand pounds to the commander-in-chief. Marlborough stated that this sum had been used to procure secret intelligence of the enemy's designs, and that he had also employed for the same purpose a reduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the troops, and that this was done under a warrant signed by the Queen's hand. This answer was apparently quite sufficient, as it was extremely important in conducting campaigns like those of Marlborough, to obtain accurate information about the enemy's movements. His political enemies were, however, implacable. On the last day of the year 1711, the Queen ordered the minute to be entered in the books of the Privy Council, that as an information against the Duke of Marlborough had been laid before the House of Commons, she had determined to dismiss him from all employments in order that the matter might undergo impartial examination. This resolution was communicated to the Duke on the following day by a letter in her own hand. Marlborough flew into a passion, and flung it into the fire. The same gazette contained an announcement of the creation of twelve new peers, above mentioned, which secured the Ministry a majority in the House of Lords.

Prince Eugene was come to England on a mission from the Emperor, to induce the ministry not to make peace, and to recall the dismissal of Marlborough from his offices. He could, however, effect nothing, and returned to Holland in the middle of March. During his stay, the Commons only sharpened their hostility against Marlborough and his friends. Their first victim was Robert Walpole, who was accused of having received perquisites as Secretary of War. He was pronounced guilty of a high breach of trust, and of notorious corruption. He was committed to the Tower as a prisoner, and was expelled the House. They then proceeded to pass two resolutions against Marlborough, which were carried by a majority of no less than one hundred and five votes. Their intention was not so much to ruin Marlborough, as to disgrace him and to prevent him offering any opposition to the peace.

Their next step was to discredit the Grand Alliance. The Dutch, they said, had failed to supply their quota both of ships and soldiers. Nearly the whole charges of the war in Spain and Portugal had been defrayed by the Queen. The King of Portugal had pocketed a large subsidy every year without recruiting the force for which the subsidy was granted; but their strongest indignation was vented on the barrier treaty which had been signed by Townshend, which, if it had been executed, would have made the Dutch masters of the entire Netherlands. Swift employed his caustic pen in these attacks.

The conferences at Utrecht opened on January 29th, 1712. Louis ventured to make stronger demands than he had before. He claimed the towns of Lille and

Tournay as equivalents for Dunkirk. He recalled the offers which he had pre-



THE BELFRY OF BRUGES.

viously made to the Duke of Savoy. He refused to acknowledge the Queen's title

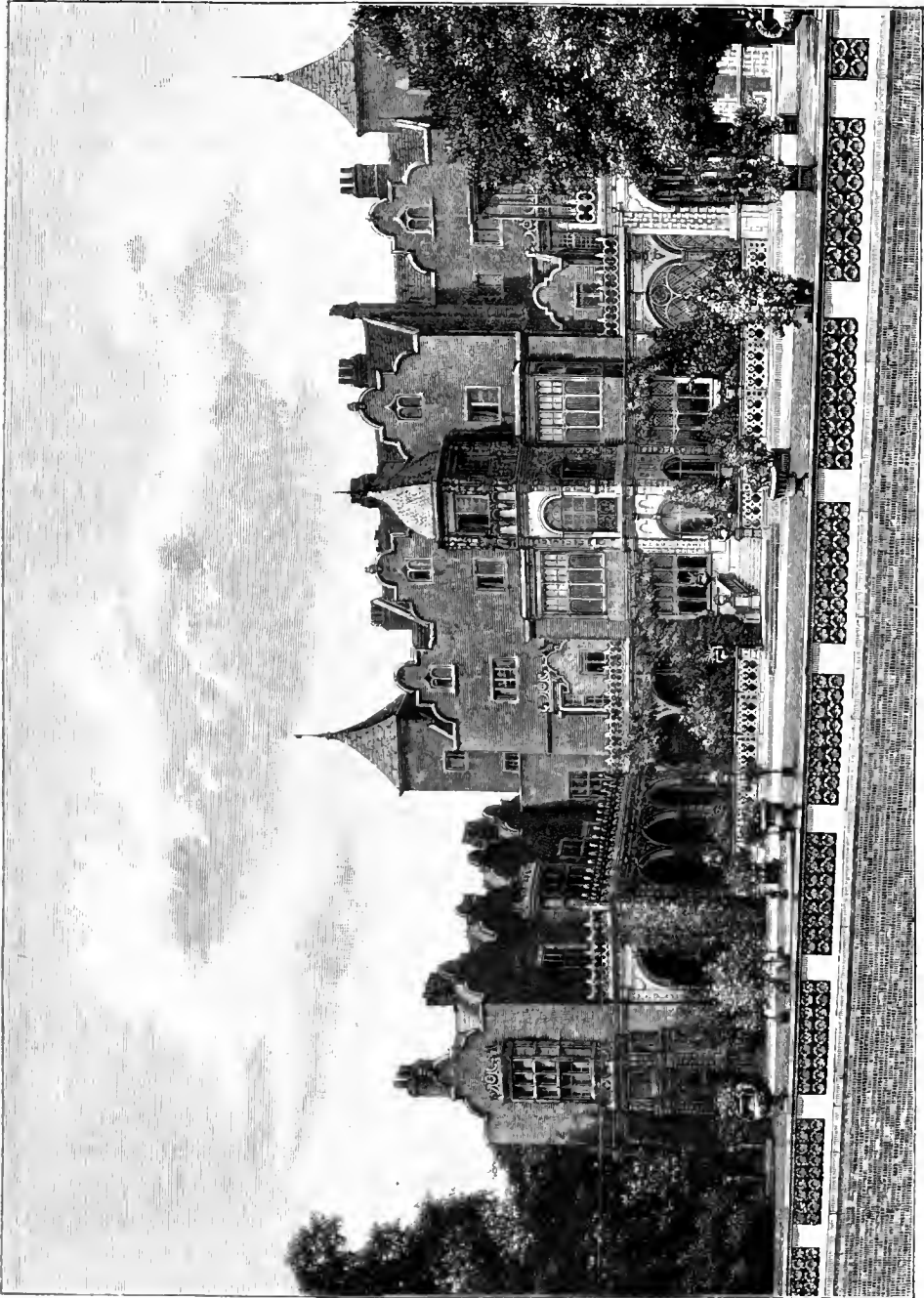
until the peace was signed. At the same time although Philip was to hold the crown of Spain and the Indies, it was guaranteed that the two thrones of France and Spain should not be occupied by the same person. These proposals roused the greatest indignation in England, and there was a danger of the conferences being broken off. Just at this time occurred a series of that class of events which must always disturb political calculations when they depend on single individuals. Just as the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria at one time, and of the Emperor Joseph at another, had disconcerted the most elaborate plans for the settlement of Europe, so now a series of deaths in the royal family of France again threatened to bring about the very combination between the crowns of France and Spain which it had been the object of the war to prevent. The Dauphin, the only son of Louis XIV., had died in April, 1711. His eldest son, the Duc de Bourgogne, had thus become heir-apparent; and the French people looked forward to his accession with great enthusiasm. In February, 1712, he was carried off by the small-pox; six days before his duchess had succumbed to the same malady. Two sons were left, the Duc de Bretagne, a child of five, and a puny infant named the Duc d'Anjou. These feeble lives alone intervened between the French crown and Philip, King of Spain, and shortly after their parents' death both were taken ill. The eldest died, but the youngest lived to become at a later period Louis XV. The conferences for peace had to be broken off, until some arrangement was come to consequent upon these events. After some delay, Louis was induced to pledge himself that Philip should renounce one of the two kingdoms, France or Spain, and this was accepted by the English ministry.

In the meantime the allied armies had appeared in the field at the end of March. Prince Eugene had returned from London, and was appointed to the command of their troops, in the place of Marlborough. The Duke of Ormond, a Jacobite, who had been placed in command of the English forces, did not appear on the scene till a month later, and he received a very cold reception from the Grand Pensionary Heinsius, as the Dutch statesmen were convinced that England was in treaty with France, and was intending to desert the Alliance. Shortly after his arrival, Ormond was cautioned by St. John to be very careful in risking an engagement, and some time later he received positive orders from the Queen not to join in any siege, nor hazard her Majesty's troops in any battle, without further orders. The Queen said that she could not think with patience of sacrificing men's lives when there was a fair way of attaining her purpose by other means. This order, for which St. John was responsible, was afterwards made the ground for impeaching him.

Never had there been a better opportunity of inflicting a signal discomfiture on the French. The allied army consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand men, experienced soldiers, full of confidence and enthusiasm. The French troops, on the other hand, were in a half-naked condition, as hungry as wolves, scattered about the country to seek a living. In the midst of his despair Villars received information from Paris that he need no longer regard the English general as an enemy. The news of the English treachery soon spread, and Eugene, in order to



test Ormond's sincerity, pressed him to join in an attack which he was obliged to decline. St. John wrote to console him, that true glory results from obeying the



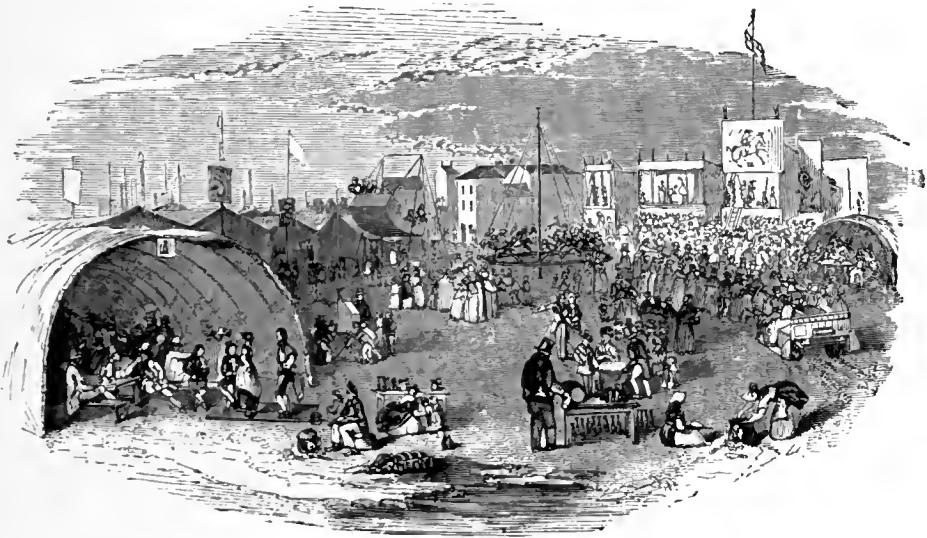
HOLLAND HOUSE.

prince one serves punctually, and promoting the interests of one's country steadily, in preference to all other considerations of private honour or advantage. When

the news reached England, it produced a stormy debate in the House of Lords. The Whigs united all their strength for an attack upon the ministers, which was led by Halifax. Indeed, the time for concealment was past. On June 6th, Anne went down to the House of Lords and announced the substance of the preliminaries which were to form the basis of the peace. It was clear, at the same time, that England was treating without the consent of the Allies. In spite of the opposition of the Whigs, addresses of confidence in the policy announced by the Queen were carried in both Houses. An armistice for two months was concluded with France. Ormond separated his forces from those of the Allies, and retired to Dunkirk. The effect of this was that Eugene was beaten by Villars at Denain, at the end of July, and that Bouchain, the last conquest of Marlborough, surrendered in October. Two Acts of this session deserve special notice. By one the rights of patronage which previously existed in the Scotch Church were restored to their owners. This was done in entire opposition to the wishes of the Church itself, and it ultimately led to the great schism between the Established Church and the Free Church in Scotland which broke out in 1843. Another Act was to impose a stamp duty on pamphlets and papers, with the object of repressing libels. It had a disastrous effect, as both the London and the provincial press were very prolific at this time. Swift wrote, "*The Observer* is fallen; the *Medleys* are jumbled together with the *Flying Post*; the *Examiner* is deadly sick; the *Spectator* keeps up and doubles its price. I know not how long it will last." The result of this was that Addison's *Spectator* was given up, and Defoe was obliged to surrender his Review.

In order to conclude the treaty of Utrecht, St. John, who was now created Viscount Bolingbroke, was sent secretly in August, 1712, to the court of Versailles. He succeeded very well as a diplomatist, and surrendered the points in dispute between the two parties. It was agreed that Sicily should be ceded to the Duke of Savoy, who had assumed the title of king, and that he and his family should be named in succession to the crown of Spain and the Indies, if the descendants of Philip should fail. These conditions being arranged, the armistice between England and France was prolonged for four months. The treaty of Utrecht between France and Great Britain was eventually signed on April 11th, 1713. The principal articles were as follows. France recognised the succession to the English throne in the Protestant line of Hanover. Philip V. of Spain renounced his claim to the throne of France, and the Duc de Berri and the Duc d'Orleans renounced their claim to the throne of Spain. The fortifications of Dunkirk were to be razed, and the harbour filled up within five months after the peace. Hudson's Bay was to be restored to Great Britain. Newfoundland, the island of St. Christopher, and Nova Scotia were also to pass to Great Britain, the French reserving certain rights of fishing and drying fish on the coast of Newfoundland, which gave to the French claims which have never been satisfied to the present day. Besides this, there was included in the treaty a subordinate treaty on navigation and commerce, which placed France and England towards each other on the basis of the most favoured nations. Another treaty between France and Portugal, signed two days

later, referred to the Portuguese possessions in South America. A treaty between France and Prussia recognised the suzerainty of Prussia over Neufchatel, and in turn received from the King of Prussia the renunciation of his rights over the principality of Orange. A treaty between France and the Duke of Savoy ceded to him the fortresses in dispute between them, recognised the Duke as King of Sicily, and as the legitimate successor to the Spanish monarchy. The treaty between France and Holland ceded to the Dutch a number of towns, including Luxemburg as a barrier; while Lille and other fortresses were restored to France. On July 13th peace was signed at Utrecht between England and Spain, by which the Protestant succession was recognised, and Gibraltar and Minorca were ceded to the English Crown. This treaty also included the *asiento* or agreement which gave England the right of conducting the slave-trade. Another treaty between



DONNYBROOK FAIR, DUBLIN.

Spain and the Duke of Savoy, signed on August 13th, 1713, make up a series of instruments which, taken together, form the Peace of Utrecht.

The Emperor was still left to continue the war, hoping that he might secure a victory which would give him better terms, but Villars, on the contrary, increased his successes, and the emperor was forced to open negotiations at Rastadt. The result of these was the signature of the Treaty of Baden, by which it was stipulated that Austria should have possession of the Spanish Netherlands, guaranteeing a barrier to Holland, that she should continue to hold Naples, Sardinia, and Milan, and that France should surrender the fortresses on the right bank of the Rhine. No mention was made in the treaty of the Spanish Monarchy, as the Emperor did not recognise Philip as King of Spain. In the treaty of commerce, which formed part of the Treaty of Utrecht, it had been arranged that all commodities should be imported from France to England on the terms of the most favoured nation. This

would have admitted French wines on the same basis as the wines of Portugal, and would have been a violation of the Methuen Treaty, which provided that Portuguese wines should always be admitted at a preferential duty. The narrow-mindedness of the English merchants raised a clamour against this provision, and it was rejected by a small majority. The same provision was attempted by the enlightened commercial policy of Pitt, in 1786, but was again defeated by commercial prejudice. The Methuen Treaty was not abrogated until 1832, and French wines were not freely admitted into this country until Cobden's commercial treaty in 1860. On July 7th, 1713, the Houses of Parliament went in procession to St. Paul's to render a public thanksgiving for the Peace, and a week later Parliament was dissolved.

The new Parliament was elected amid scenes of the utmost violence and excitement. Whigs and Tories decked themselves in party badges—the Whigs wearing



KINGSTON BRIDGE.

pieces of wool, to show their support of the wool trade which had been endangered by the commercial treaty; while the Tories decked themselves with green boughs, and oak leaves to commemorate the tree in which Charles II. had been concealed, and to show themselves supporters of the Restoration. The Tories were returned by a considerable majority, and began to intrigue the return of the Pretender. The Queen could not make up her mind either way. She was attacked on one side by the Duchess of Somerset, who was a friend of the Protestant establishment, and on the other by Lady Masham, who was an ardent Jacobite. Bolingbroke took up warmly the side of the exiled family. His connections were mainly Tory, and he had intimate relations with France. He attempted to bend the Cabinet to his views. He succeeded in appointing the Duke of Ormond Warden of the Cinque Ports, which gave him the Governorship of Dover Castle. By his connivance the Pretender would have no difficulty in landing on the coast. The important towns of Berwick and Edinburgh were entrusted to safe hands. The regiments raised

by William III. were disbanded. If Harley had been as ardent in the cause as his colleague there would have been no difficulty in securing the Restoration. The last Parliament of Queen Anne met in February, 1714. Their first act was to make a fresh attack on pamphlets and fugitive writings, beginning with the "Crisis" of Steele. The House of Lords made an attempt to lessen some of the disgrace of the Treaty of Utrecht by interfering on behalf of the Catalans, who had always supported the cause of the Archduke Charles in Spain. England had promised to protect them against the vengeance of King Philip, but failed to fulfil the engagement. They rose in arms, and were exposed to all the fury of Philip's



LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.

vengeance. The Lords were able to effect nothing, except to prevent the despatch of a fleet, which Bolingbroke was sending to assist Philip in suppressing them.

The electoral prince, afterwards George II., had been created an English peer, under the title of the Duke of Cambridge, and it was thought well at this time that he should come to England. Queen Anne, whose health was very bad, could not bear the sight of her successor. She sent violent letters to Hanover, saying that George's arrival might endanger his right to the throne. These letters had an unexpected effect. They deeply disturbed the mind of the aged electress. On the evening of their arrival, she paced up and down the gardens of Herrenhausen, talking about her troubles, and the next day was unable to leave her bed. For a short time she completely recovered her equanimity, but on May 28th, as she was walking in the Park, she was overtaken by a shower of rain, and in endeavouring

to reach shelter brought on a fit which killed her. She was in the eighty-fourth year of her age.

The strife of parties was more bitter than ever. The Whigs every day urged the Elector to come over to England, while the Tories proposed that the Pretender should visit his sister, and should persuade her to announce him as her successor. Bolingbroke made a serious effort to crush the Dissenters by passing the Schism



CATHEDRAL TOWER, FROM NEWGATE, CHESTER.

Act, which provided that no one should keep a public or private school unless he was a member of the Church of England, and licensed by the Bishop. The Bill was passed by only a small majority in the Lords, but it never came into operation, as Queen Anne died on the day fixed for its commencement, and it was repealed by the Government which followed. During the discussion of the Bill, Harley behaved with great duplicity. He was of Nonconformist origin, and had been educated in Nonconformist principles. He made some effort to mitigate the more

severe portions of the Schism Act, yet he persuaded the Opposition to allow the Bill to pass, and absented himself when it came to the final vote. Lady Masham entirely deserted her relation and former friend. She said to him, "You never did the Queen any service; you are incapable of doing her any." The Queen was deeply offended with him, and all his interviews with her only contributed to confirm her dislike. On July 27th he was summoned to Kensington to surrender his staff of office as Lord Treasurer. Anne told the Council that her reasons for parting with him were that he neglected all business; that he never came punctually at the time she appointed, and that when he did come he was often tipsy, and behaved towards her with indecency and disrespect.

Bolingbroke now became Prime Minister, and did his best to form a Jacobite administration. Atterbury was made Privy Seal, Ormond Commander-in-Chief, Buckingham Lord President, and Harcourt Lord Chancellor. His schemes, however, were interrupted by another sudden death. Anne had been deeply moved by her stormy interview with Oxford. On July 30th she rose at seven, and prepared to meet her Council. She went up to the clock, but stared at it so long that the bedchamber woman in attendance asked her whether she saw anything unusual in its appearance. When the Queen turned round her countenance was deadly pale. Doctor Arbuthnot recommended that her head should be shaved, but while this was being done, she was seized with a fit, and lay for nearly two hours insensible. As soon as she recovered consciousness, Bolingbroke advised her to make the Duke of Shrewsbury Lord Treasurer, and she put the staff into his hand. He was at the same time Lord Chamberlain and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The news of the Queen's illness, and the excitement of that time, still survives in the current phrase, "Queen Anne is dead." The Council sat all night, attended by the Whigs who belonged to it. Measures were taken for defending London and securing the ports. Anne lay in a state of lethargy, and died at seven o'clock in the morning of Sunday, August 1st. The black box which contained the names of the Lords Justices nominated by the Elector of Hanover was opened. Five Tories were on the list, but neither Marlborough nor Somers. Anne was solemnly proclaimed Queen in the afternoon, and not a single Jacobite lifted up his voice. The Queen was buried on August 24th, in Westminster Abbey. Her life was full of unhappiness and worry, but she was much loved by her people, and her name survives in history as the good Queen Anne.



## CHAPTER VII.

### GEORGE I.

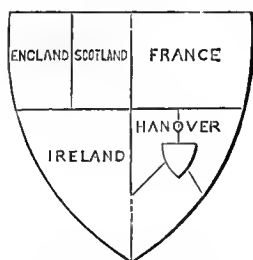


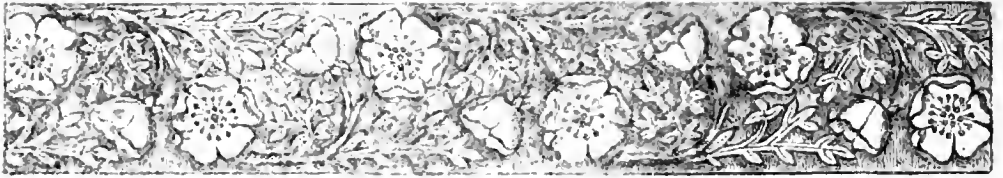
DIAGRAM OF MARSHALLING  
OF SHIELD OF KING  
GEORGE I.

QUEEN ANNE died on the morning of August 1st, 1714. To provide against any sudden move on the part of the Jacobites to disturb the Protestant succession, arrangements had been made as far back as 1705 for proceeding immediately on this event. The Council was to meet, and three sealed packets were to be opened, containing the names of the nominees of the Elector of Hanover, who were to act together with seven great officers of state, appointed by the statute as Lords Justices. The Queen, on her death-bed, had made Shrewsbury Lord High Treasurer; and now it was found that the majority of the eighteen peers nominated by the successor were Whigs, and so the hopes that the Jacobites had been entertaining for the last four years of Anne's reign seemed to be dashed to pieces. Bolingbroke lamented that the Queen's death had not come six weeks later; Atterbury, indeed, urged the instant proclamation of the Pretender, which, from the testimony of writers of the time, might have had a most excellent effect in his cause; but Ormond held back, and meanwhile the Lords Justices proclaimed the Elector as George I. of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and so apathetic were the people when left to themselves that not a single voice of dissent was heard to the herald's announcement. Next day the Parliament met. Congratulations were sent to Hanover, the same Civil List was settled on George as had been settled on Anne. His title was recognised by all Europe, and in fact the only persons who seemed to be dissatisfied were those who had hoped for some preferment from the new régime and had not got it, amongst others Marlborough. But George I. was in no hurry to come over to his new kingdom, and it was not till September 18th that he landed at Greenwich, accompanied by his eldest son.

The nation was glad to see him for the principle that he represented, but he was not a very dignified or lovable sovereign to look at. He was fifty-four years of age, very short in the legs, and shy and awkward in his manner. He could not speak English, and always expressed his inability to understand the implacable differences between Whigs and Tories. Probably this was because he had been

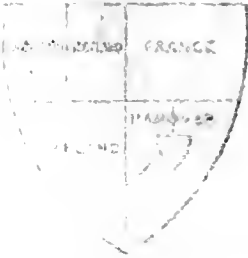






## CHAPTER VII.

### GEORGE I.



QUEEN ANNE died on the morning of August 1st, 1714. To provide against any sudden move on the part of the Jacobites to disturb the Protestant succession, arrangements had been made as far back as 1705 for the eventuality of this case. A council was appointed, who were to be sworn in the event of the death of the queen, to elect a king, and to give the name of the person so elected. The council was to be composed of the twelve lords of the great council, and the twelve judges of the law, and the twelve members of the House of Commons.

The council met on the 1st of August, and elected George I. as king. The election was unanimous. The king was proclaimed on the 20th of August, and on the 21st he landed at Dover. The king was accompanied by his wife, Sophia, and his daughter, Anne. The king was crowned on the 20th of September, and on the 21st he gave a banquet at Whitehall. The king's first act was to issue a proclamation, in which he declared that he had been elected king, and that he intended to reign in peace and justice.

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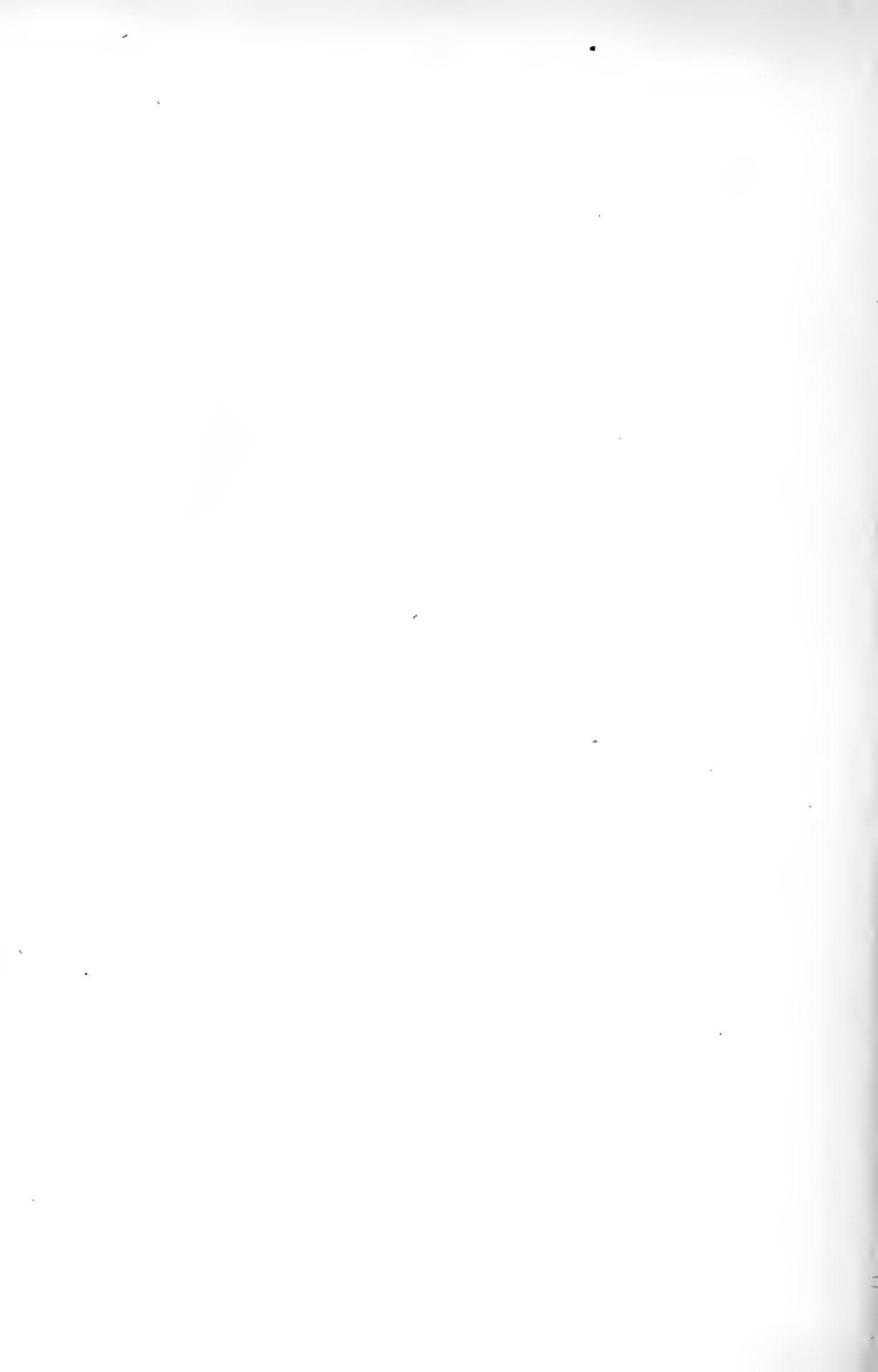
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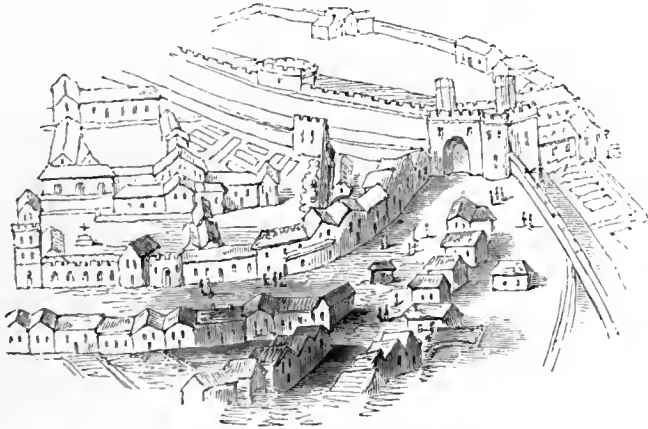
GEORGE I.

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used to despotic power in his own little dominion of Hanover, power which he had always used wisely and well, so that his subjects deeply regretted his departure. The restraints and formalities of Constitutional government were irksome to him, but this feeling of his did not tend to promote sympathy between himself and his new people. He had been unhappy in his marriage with Princess Sophia of Zell. Twenty years before his accession to the English throne some dreadful mystery had fallen on the court of Hanover, and the Princess had been summarily divorced from him. She was now closely confined in the castle of Aldhen, and only allowed to drive out surrounded by a guard.

But whatever might be his private opinion of party Government, George had to put himself entirely in the hands of the Whigs, to whom he owed his peaceable accession to the throne. The Chevalier St. George, the Pretender, had, soon after the death of Queen Anne, issued a manifesto in which he asserted his right to the throne. Bolingbroke was, in retaliation, deprived of his seals of office, and

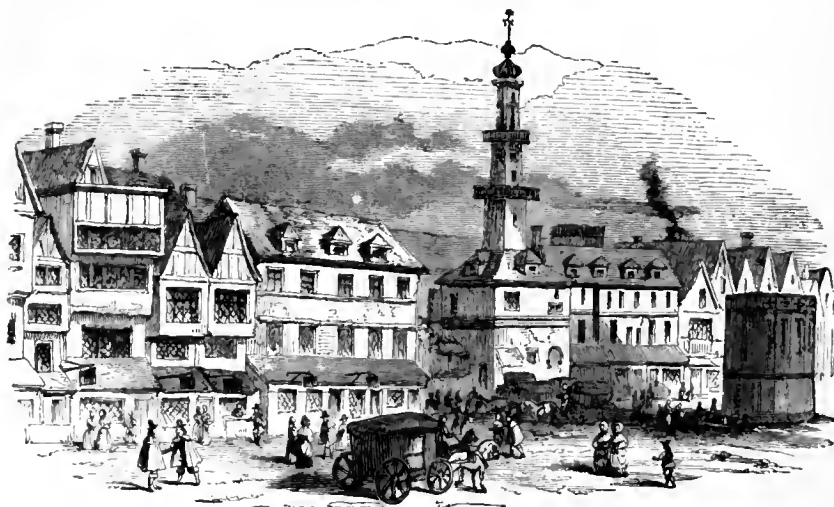


ALDGATE AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Lord Townshend made Secretary of State in his place. Marlborough was still looked upon with suspicion, and given no place in the councils of the realm, though he was retained as Captain General and Master of the Ordnance; and this suspicion was confirmed by his soon afterwards sending a loan to the Pretender.

George was crowned on the 20th of October. Parliament was dissolved in the following January, and on the opening of the new one in March the Whigs were clearly in the majority. Nor did they hesitate in attacking their enemies at once. The measures of the last years of Anne's reign were vehemently censured as injurious to the safety of the kingdom; Oxford and Ormond did not move, but Bolingbroke fled to France and became Secretary of State to the Pretender. A committee was formed to enquire into the peace of Utrecht, and Bolingbroke, Oxford, and Ormond were impeached of high treason. Ormond fled to France too, and acts of attainder were passed against him and Bolingbroke. Oxford was impeached at the Bar of the House of Lords and committed to the Tower.

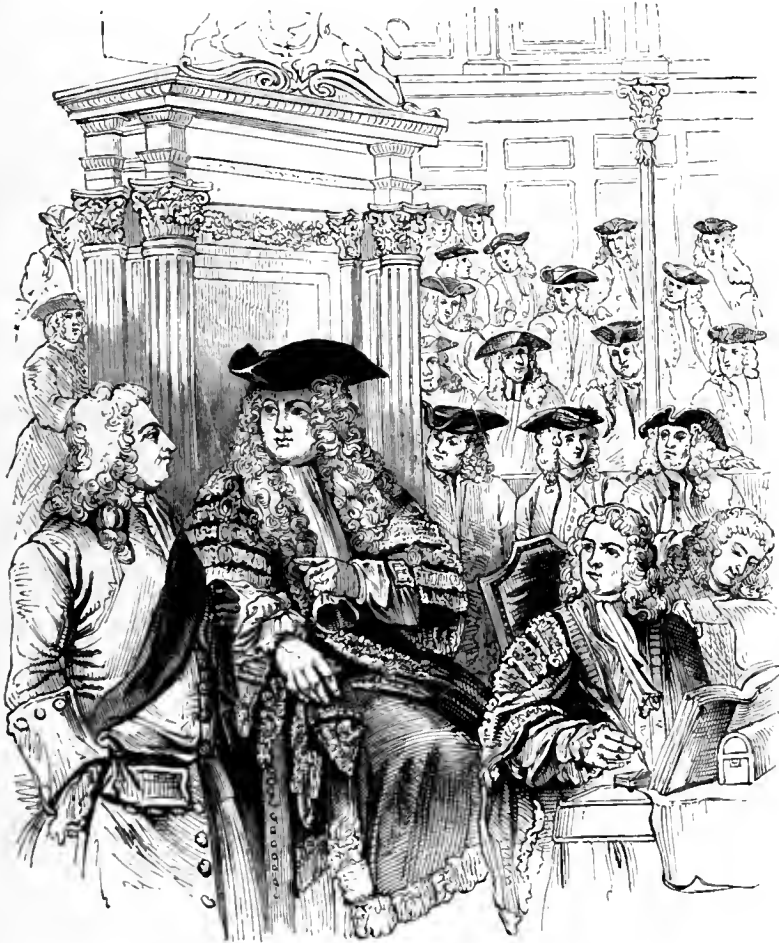
But the High Church party was at work again, stirring up the people; and already serious riots had broken out, both at the time of the King's coronation and during the elections in different parts of the country, and these increased after the impeachments, especially in the Midland Counties, where the fury of the mob was chiefly directed against the Dissenters. It was at this time that the Riot Act was passed which still remains in force. In Scotland, too, there were serious differences between the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians; but the principal cause of dissatisfaction was the supposed peril to the national independence involved in the Union. At first the Jacobites, as in England, had been in a manner stunned by the announcement of George's accession, but now they were recovering themselves; the Highland chieftains saw themselves capable of raising a very formidable insurrection, and believed that if they did, they would be assisted by the discontented Lowland lairds, and thus began the rebellion of 1715.



ENTRANCE TO THE EXCHANGE, CORNHILL.

The Earl of Mar was the chief instigator of the rebellion. He had been one of the most zealous promoters of the Union, and had contrived to remain Secretary of State both under the Whigs and under the Tories in Anne's reign; he had protested his fidelity to George on his accession, but not meeting the encouragement he hoped for, as George, in fact, had deprived him of his office by the advice of his ministers, his disappointed ambition and mortified pride led him to try his fortunes openly with the Jacobites. He fled in disguise to Scotland, where, under pretence of a great hunting party, he assembled a large number of the principal Highland noblemen and gentlemen, with their followers; and exhibiting a very doubtful appointment of himself as commander of the Chevalier's forces in Scotland, at a subsequent meeting at Braemar on September 6th, raised the Stuart standard proclaiming James VIII. of Scotland and James III. of England. The fiery cross was despatched through the Highlands, where the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Marquis of Huntley, the Earl of Panmure, and many other lesser

chieftains held unlimited sway over their vassals; and less peremptory, but still very forcible methods of persuasion were tried by Mar amongst the disaffected Lowland lairds and their tenants. The Duke of Argyle, the powerful leader of the Campbell clan, was, fortunately for the Hanoverian succession, in favour of it, and he was appointed Commander of the Government Forces in Scotland. The rising looked formidable, but when matters came to a head it appeared that the bitter feelings of Presbyterians against the Catholics and Episcopals was too strong for them

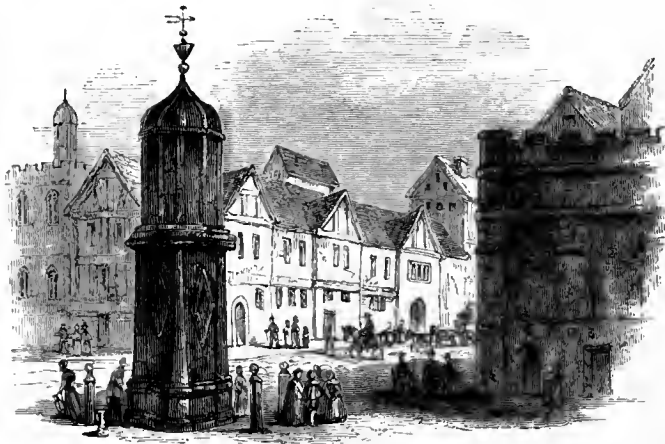


HOUSE OF COMMONS IN THE TIME OF SIR R. WALPOLE.

to coalesce even against the hated Union, and the Highland chieftains did not find the support they had expected when they descended from their wild fastnesses to the more cultivated and wealthy Lowlands, where the blessings of peace had come to be appreciated above the excitement of fighting.

Just as Mar raised the standard of revolt, Louis XIV. died. The more enthusiastic Jacobites affected to think little of his loss; but the more thoughtful, such as Bolingbroke, saw how disastrous it would be to their cause. The Regent,

the Duke of Orleans, did not wish to quarrel with the English Government, and not only did they not help the Chevalier, but even took steps to intercept the supplies that had been prepared in France to go over to Scotland. The Jacobites had to depend upon their own resources. An attempt was made by Lord Drummond to take Edinburgh Castle, and was very nearly successful, when it was frustrated by the very sentinel on whose treachery they had trusted. Lord Sinclair's eldest son seized a Government ship off the coast of Fife, and capturing arms for four hundred men took them to the Earl of Mar, at Perth; but there the chieftains had begun to quarrel over questions of precedence, and valuable time was wasted in the belief that the mere landing of the Chevalier would ensure his triumph. Argyle lay at Stirling, with about fifteen hundred troops, in a position from which he commanded any advance of Mar to the south; so the latter determined to send only a detachment under McIntosh across the Firth of Forth and himself await



CORNHILL, NORTH-EAST VIEW.

the arrival of the Chevalier at Perth. McIntosh, therefore, after crossing the Firth marched as if to attack Edinburgh again; Argyle moved from Stirling, and the detachment retired to Musselburgh; then Argyle returned to Stirling on a rumour that Mar was moving southward, which was in order to divert the inevitable destruction that would have fallen on McIntosh's detachment. On this McIntosh continued his southerly march, proclaiming King James at Dunse, and was met at Kelso by a body of horsemen from the south of Scotland under Lord Kenmure, and from Northumberland under Mr. Forster, the two bodies together amounting to only three hundred men. These last two leaders had been chosen because they were Protestants, to give more colour to the pretensions of the rising to be a national one. Here they were also joined by Lord Derwentwater, with a small following of friends and servants. The whole army attended service on the Sunday morning following, and next day King James was proclaimed with colours flying, drums beating, and bagpipes playing, and a long manifesto was read announcing the benefits to be conferred on Scotland by his restoration.



This was loudly cheered by the gentry of the Lowlands and their followers, but must have been very edifying to the Highland section of the army, who not speaking English did not understand a word of it. After lingering at Kelso for five days, during which time it was hotly debated whether they should turn towards the west and make themselves masters of Dumfries and Glasgow, or return northward and fight General Carpenter who was now on their track, or whether, as a third course, move forward into England and reinforce themselves with the insurgents of Lancashire. They finally decided on the last step, and proceeded to Jedburgh. Here, however, the Highland clans became troublesome. They would fight as much as they were wanted, they said, but they would not cross to England. So they sidled along the Border, the Highlanders being partly threatened, partly tempted with the offer of a fixed daily pay, till they arrived at Longtown, but there five hundred of the most discontented left altogether, being proof in their resolve both to threats and to bribes. As soon as the army stood on English ground Mr. Forster, by virtue of a commission from the Earl of Mar, assumed command of it.

They met with no opposition on their way to Penrith; indeed the militia, which had been called out to meet them under Lord Lonsdale and the Bishop of Carlisle, fled before them, the inhabitants looking upon them with awe and amazement, as they would upon an incursion of savages. Still there was nothing to blame in

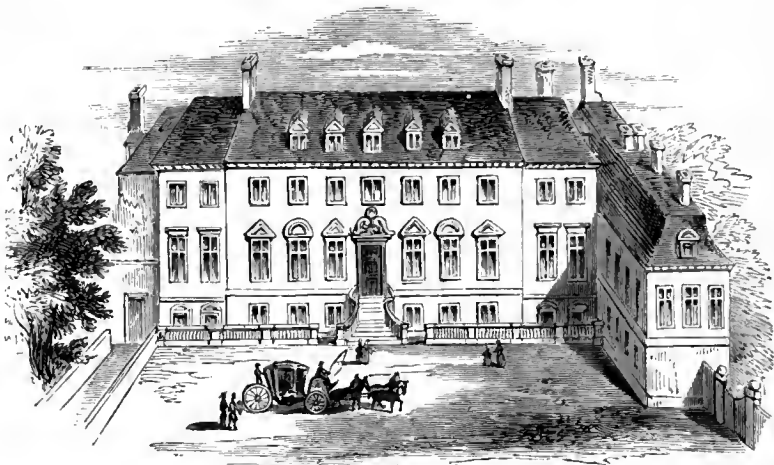
their conduct as they passed through the country. They reached Lancaster on the 7th of November, where they might have taken up a strong defensive position; but instead they went on to Preston, a stronghold of Catholicism; and there, relying on the assurance that their friends gave them that no English force could advance on them from the south, abandoned themselves to the hospitality that had been provided for their welcome. But on November 11th news came that General Wills was marching from Wigan. Forster, who was totally unfit for his command, left the bridge over the Ribble—the main approach to the town, where an effectual resistance might easily have been made—entirely undefended, and confined his attention to erecting barricades in the streets of the town itself. Wills stormed two or three of these barricades, and meanwhile General Carpenter, who



NEGRO TRAFFIC.

had followed the rebel army from the north, reached the town on the other side, and though the Highlanders fought well, they found when day broke on Sunday, November 13th, that most of their last joined English recruits had slipped away, and that they were themselves surrounded on all sides. There was some talk of their cutting their way out, but Forster and his English officers attempted to treat with General Wills for favourable terms of surrender. Wills would promise nothing, so they eventually surrendered at discretion. Some of the common men were subsequently tried and executed or transported; officers who held commissions from the King were shot; and the nobles and leaders were marched to London to await their trial for high treason.

In the north the Government forces had, on the same day as the battle of Preston, met the insurgent army at Sheriff Muir. Mar had at last really moved southward from Perth, and Argyle had made a corresponding move northwards to meet him. Mar, like Forster, was totally incompetent as a general; he had little



SOUTHAMPTON HOUSE, BLOOMSBURY.

knowledge of the country; he had cannon, but no supplies of ammunition. On the 12th of November the Master of Sinclair, with the advanced guard, was approaching Dunblane, when he received news of Argyle's being there. He immediately fell back on the main body, and the Jacobite army passed an uncomfortable night in a cramped-up hollow near Sheriff Muir, where Argyle had resolved to risk a battle. Its nature was peculiarly favourable to him, as he had under his command four thousand disciplined troops against nearly twice that number, which was what the irregular Highland forces had swelled to. Next morning the Highlanders were eager for the attack. Mar led the right wing against Argyle's left, and the force of the onset was such that the English troops on that part of the field were totally routed. But Argyle with his left wing, on the other hand, chased his opponents from the field. Both the victorious wings of the two armies returned from the chase, and might have fought again, but Mar thought best to retire to Perth, thus leaving the victory, which

was really undecided, virtually to Argyle. Then the news came of the battle of Preston, and Mar sent to ask Argyle to apply for power to grant terms. No answer came from London. The Government felt the strength of their position, and saw no necessity to trouble about terms. Besides that, the Pretender had now landed, and had even fixed the day of his coronation. The King's ministers considered that he might have some new grounds for expecting aid from France, and a demonstration of any conciliatory policy might only tend to weaken them in the eyes of their enemies.

Argyle, who had been strongly reinforced at Stirling, marched towards Perth. To hamper him, the country between him and Perth was laid waste by Mar's forces, by order of the Pretender; but he pressed forward, and, on the 13th of January, 1716, was close to Perth. The Highland army retreated, many of the less enthusiastic deserting quietly on the way. The Chevalier's behaviour was not calculated to inspire enthusiasm. Some of his followers suggested placing him in their midst, and fighting to the death; but this was not at all to his taste, and rumours began soon to spread about of his intention to return to France, and leave his adherents to their fate. This proved to be true. The Chevalier embarked on board a French ship at Montrose, and sailed. General Gordon was left in command of the insurgent army, and retreated with it to Aberdeen; but when Argyle reached that town three days later, it had all melted away.

Parliament had met on the 9th of January, and the King's speech was naturally full of the subject of the rebellion. To meet the extra expense entailed on the nation, the King announced his intention of giving up all the forfeited estates that would have come to the Crown, and this in a great measure encouraged the House of Commons against any doubts that might have existed as to the advisability of a sweeping measure of attainder. On the same day that the reply to the King's speech was moved, Lord Derwentwater was impeached of high treason. It was argued that this was due to the nation, as supporting the principle of the Act of Settlement against that of mere divine right, and it was claimed that not even the King's pardon could avail against an impeachment by the Commons. On the same day Lord Widdrington, Lord Nithsdale, Lord Winton, Lord Carnwarth, Lord Nairn, and Lord Kenmure were also impeached; and on the 19th, the seven noblemen were brought to the bar of the House of Lords, to answer the charges in the articles of impeachment. All but Lord Winton pleaded guilty, and threw themselves on the King's mercy; and on the 9th of February, they were condemned to die as traitors by Lord Chancellor Cowper, who was acting as High Steward.

Great was the feeling manifested on both sides on this occasion. Lady Derwentwater, as well as Ladies Nairn and Nithsdale, forced their way into the presence of the King, but could not prevail upon him to pardon their husbands. Walpole had determined to make an example of them. The Commons were besieged with petitions, till Walpole moved their adjournment till after the executions. Then the Lords took up the matter, and public opinion at last prevailing, the ministers

resolved to reprove all but Lords Derwentwater, Kenmure, and Nithsdale, who



ESCAPE OF LORD NITHSDALE FROM THE TOWER.

were to be executed on the following morning. The sentence was carried out on

the two former on Tower Hill, but when the officers of the law came to look for Lord Nithsdale in his prison he was not there. Lady Nithsdale having found all her efforts with the King of no avail, had resolved to effect her husband's escape; and having made friends with his guards, so as to ensure their not being too much on the alert, by an ingenious arrangement of disguises, managed to substitute him for a lady friend whom she had taken in with her to visit him, and smuggle him out of his prison in the Tower.

Many of the other prisoners escaped, notably Lord Winton immediately after his trial, Mr. Forster and McIntosh; but probably now that the reaction had set in for mercy, the Government was not sorry to get off the formalities of condemning and then pardoning them. McIntosh knocked down his gaoler in Newgate, and fled abroad: Forster used a false key, and locked his gaoler in: Winton filed through a bar in his window in the Tower, and so got out. Perhaps the minor actors in the rebellion might have been treated with more leniency. Some were tried at Liverpool and executed or transported to the Colonies. There was some outcry because a large number of Scotch prisoners had been sent to trial at Carlisle, which some lawyers declared to be contrary to the judicial independence of their country. However, the trials went on at Carlisle: some were condemned, some released, but none were executed; so anxious were the English judges not to take upon themselves the risk of raising questions prejudicial to the Union.

The Pretender himself, who during his stay in Scotland had in no way shown himself worthy of the devotedness of his followers, now took a step on his return to France which greatly helped to allay any further alarm on the part of the Whigs. Bolingbroke, one of his most faithful, and certainly the most useful of his friends, representing the head while the others represented the hands, met him at St. Germain, and advised him to retire for the time being to his former residence at Bar-le-Duc, and there await events. He promised to do so, but instead of complying with this advice he remained in Paris, and sent Ormond with a message to Bolingbroke, dismissing him for the future from his service. After that he fell into the hands of vacillating theorists and scheming priests, and entered on a career of constant trouble. He attempted to return to Lorraine, but received a polite intimation from the French Government that he was not wanted there; and he finally settled down in the Papal States, a step which tended in no small degree to increase the feelings of the English Protestants against him, jealous and suspicious as they were of any movement savouring of the restoration of the Papal power in England. Bolingbroke, as may be supposed, was thoroughly disgusted at the indignity with which his services had been rewarded: he vowed that he would never use his pen or his sword again for the Stuarts, and he never did.

Soon after Lord Derwentwater's execution, the fear that was then prevalent of the machinations of the Roman Catholics was shown by an Act passed to enforce the laws against Papists. One of its clauses was to prevent Papists from enlisting in the King's service. But a more important measure passed during that session was the Septennial Act, to supersede the Triennial Act of William III., which, it was found, caused considerable expense to the country, as well as constant trouble in

the perpetually reviving disturbances that elections as they were carried on in those times caused amongst the lower classes of the nation. The Bill met with little opposition in either House, though the Commons were more in favour of it than the Lords, seeing how far it would go to emancipate them from the whims of the Crown or of the Lords. There was also a danger lest a dissolution at this time might return a Parliament favourable to the Jacobites. Since this time it has been found that the average length of a Parliament has been six years, and it has only been the custom to dissolve within a shorter time on some very vital question. A clause was introduced to prevent holders of pensions during pleasure from sitting in either House of Parliament; but the Peers complained that this interfered with their privileges, so another Bill was passed, imposing a penalty of twenty pounds per day on any pensioner sitting or voting in the Commons.

George, as already remarked, never liked his British dominions so well as



CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW UNDERSHAFT, CORNHILL.

Hanover; and though there had been a clause in the Act of Settlement to prevent him leaving England without the consent of Parliament, he soon got that repealed, and prepared to set out for his native country. The English did not approve of this, and were inclined to suspect that many of the Continental wars and alliances entered into by him and his successors were more in the interests of Hanover than of England. Their repeated absences were a constant source of danger to the tranquil government of this country, more especially as there was, in the cases of all the Hanoverian Kings, a rallying point for any opposition in the heir to the Crown for the time being. During the absence of the King the Government naturally fell into the hands of the ministers, and it was fortunate for England at this time that Sir Robert Walpole, who held almost exclusive power, was a minister who devoted his attention to keeping the nation quiet, and developing its growing industries by a wider system of freedom and toleration. His means of gaining

power were not very creditable, chiefly consisting of wholesale bribery, but he did not misuse his power when he had gained it. Macaulay has said that he gave to our Government the character for lenity which it has since generally preserved.

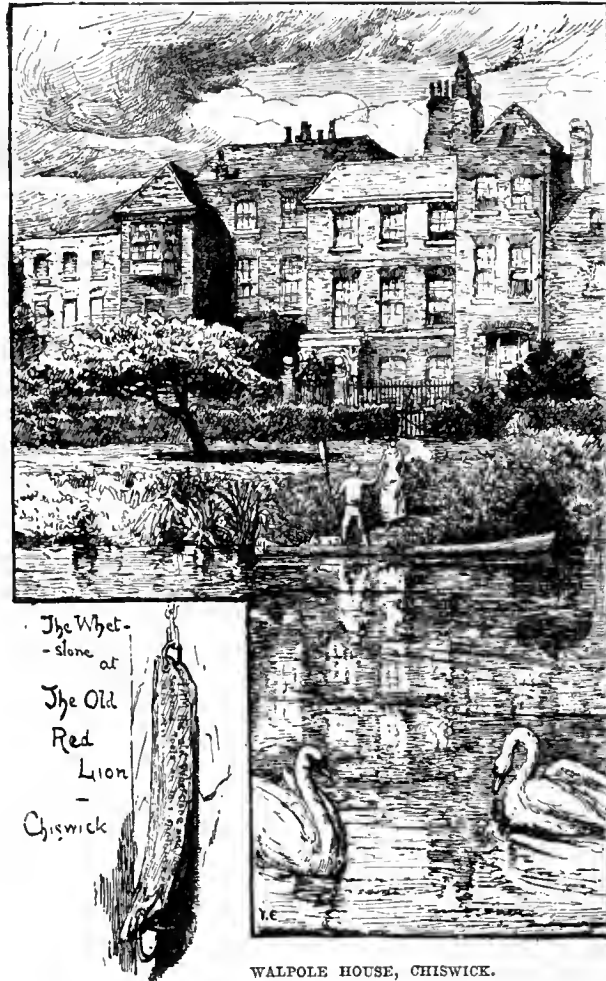
We must now turn to the foreign policy of England, which Walpole found on his accession to power rather complicated. In the Spring of 1716 a defensive alliance against France had been concluded between England, the States General, and the Emperor of Germany; but after the suppression of the rebellion of 1715, the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, showed himself so anxious to conciliate England in every way, in order to gain its support in case of the death of Louis XV., in his succession to the French throne, that Stanhope, who had acted as negotiator with France, found no difficulty in obtaining all the concessions that he required, and the relations between the two countries even tended to a close



SANCTUARY, WESTMINSTER. FROM A SKETCH BY DR. STUKELEY, BEFORE ITS DESTRUCTION.

alliance. The Pretender was expelled from France, and a proposed new harbour at Mardyke was abandoned. But, on the other hand, Charles XII. of Sweden had broken out again in the North, and was endeavouring to recover some of the possessions that his neighbours had despoiled him of during his enforced retirement after the battle of Pultowa, in 1709. Frederick William of Prussia was the chief object of his anger, and George, his father-in-law, sent a fleet into the Baltic to assist him against Charles. Charles was eventually defeated at Stralsund. Then the Czar of Russia threatened Denmark, and George wanted to send an expedition against him, but his ministers would not allow him. This, the people thought, was all the result of having a foreign king whose heart was more in his foreign kingdom than in his English dominions. However, the constitution of the government fortunately saved England from more than the possibility of disaster.

Now began those domestic disputes between the King and the heir-apparent which were characteristic of this and the next two reigns, and which were such a hindrance to national prosperity. When George set out for Hanover, in 1716, he appointed his son Guardian of the Realm, but he was afraid to trust him with full power as Regent. Nor would he extend the powers left to his son when he found it more convenient to himself to remain in Hanover after Parliament should



WALPOLE HOUSE, CHISWICK.

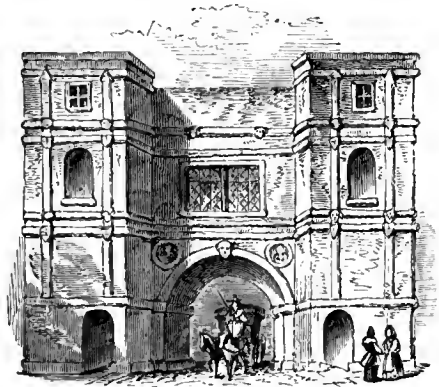
have opened in 1717, nor allow him to open Parliament in his stead. Townsend supported the Prince in his desire to act for his father: Stanhope adhered to the King in his refusal to let him do so. Thus an opposition party was formed which looked to the Prince as its centre. Townsend was dismissed from his office of Secretary of State, greatly to the public indignation, it being supposed that he had been sacrificed to the "Hanoverian" party. George had to return to England rather sooner than he intended, to allay the threatening storm and try to pacify Townsend, by offering him the Lord Lieutenantcy of Ireland.



When, on the 20th February, 1717, Parliament re-opened, George announced the conclusion of a Triple Alliance between England, France, and the States General; and at the same time papers were produced exposing a plot on the part of Charles XII. of Sweden to invade England and place the Pretender on the throne. Supplies were asked for to meet the supposed danger, which was really now past, having been nipped at the very outset. They were granted only by a very narrow majority, and many of the most prominent Whigs opposed the grant as unnecessary. This led to a further disruption in the Cabinet: Townsend was dismissed from his new office, and Walpole resigned. Stanhope became head of the Government. Sunderland, who was the great cause of jealousy on the part of the Whig leaders, became Secretary of State with Addison: and James Craggs was made Secretary of War. A further defeat was inflicted on the Government by the action of the House of Peers with regard to the trial of the Earl of Oxford. They refused to listen to the charges of misdemeanour brought against him by the Commons until he had been tried for high treason, and the Commons in disgust refused to prosecute any further. Oxford was accordingly acquitted, and at the same time an Act of Grace was passed, which set free many other of the imprisoned lords who had been suffering for the rebellion of 1715.

Further danger to the peace of Europe was now threatened by the intrigues of Cardinal Alberoni, the Prime Minister of Spain, who, dissatisfied with the results of the Treaty of Utrecht, as regarded the interests of his country, resolved to make an effort to overthrow

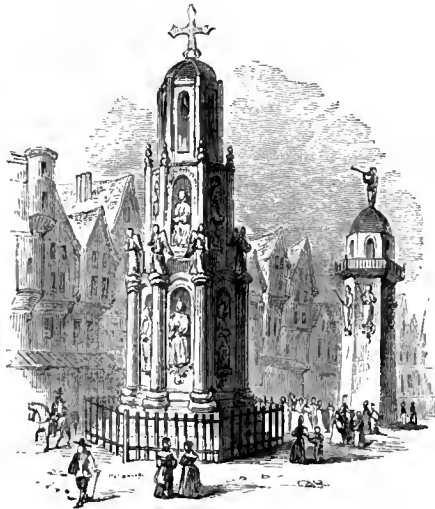
the balance of power as professed to be established by that treaty. In vain did Stanhope attempt to conciliate Alberoni; he was determined to set every instrument of intrigue in motion against England and France, which were the great obstacles to his ambition. Parliament was summoned for the 21st of November, 1717, and this was the state of affairs which Stanhope had to lay before it. War with Spain was imminent; and further, the domestic disputes of the royal family had reached to such a pitch over the christening of the Prince of Wales' second son—the Prince desiring one person to act as godfather and the King another,—that the Prince was finally put under arrest, and ordered to leave the Palace with his wife. A regular party now assembled at Leicester House, the Prince's private residence, in opposition to the King's ministry, Walpole and Shippen being at the head of it. Some of the King's advisers, on the other hand, even went so far as to recommend the kidnapping of the Prince, and the carrying him off to the colonies; and though George was too sensible to listen to this, yet the hatred he bore to his son was sufficient to justify great alarm on the part



ALDGATE.

of the supporters of the constitution. Shippen was soon afterwards sent to the Tower, for hinting that the demand for troops to be sent to the Continent looked very much as if England intended to do more there than merely ensure the conclusion of treaties that would "settle peace and tranquillity among our neighbours;" but it did not seem as if he had been much mistaken when the next messenger from the King pointed out the need of an increase in the navy, in terms which Walpole remarked had the air of a declaration of war. And war it actually proved to be. Admiral Byng sailed to the Mediterranean, where, while that Stanhope had been discussing peace with Alberoni at Madrid, a Spanish fleet, in obedience to the secret orders of the latter, had laid siege to Messina, in Sicily. Byng drove them out, and destroyed the fleet off Cape Passaro; but Messina fell before the Spanish troops that had already been landed. Byng affected not to look on these hostilities as an outbreak of war; but Alberoni

retaliated for the disaster inflicted on him by seizing all British goods and ships in Spanish ports; and at the opening of Parliament, on November 11th, 1718, George had to state that Spain having rejected all amicable proposals, "it had become necessary for our naval forces to check their progress." Walpole headed the opposition to the address of thanks moved in the Commons, saying that by carrying it they would sanction the war begun by the ministers against Spain. During this session a Bill was passed for the relief of Protestant dissenters. Stanhope had wished for the repeal of the Act against Occasional Conformity, the Schism and Test Acts, and the penal



CHEAPSIDE CROSS.

laws against Roman Catholics; but all this was rather too much to expect yet.

Alberoni, having now failed in a conspiracy which he had raised up against the Regent Orleans, which only ended in a further declaration of war against Spain on the part of France, turned his attention to the Pretender, and inviting him to Spain resolved to make use of him as a weapon against England. An armada was fitted out to invade England, under the Duke of Ormond. The lord Mareschal was to land in Scotland, and his brother to go through France and collect the Jacobites there. All this came to nought; Ormond's fleet was scattered in the Bay of Biscay; Mareschal met with little enthusiasm in the Highlands; and finally, the whole of his little Spanish force surrendered to General Wightman at Glenshiels. Meanwhile Byng had been rendering such efficient aid to the Emperor's troops in Sicily that the Spaniards had at length been compelled to evacuate that island, and an army had been despatched by France into Spain under the Duke of Berwick. Lord Cobham had captured Vigo, and Alberoni

began to think of suing for peace; but Stanhope anticipated him, by advising the French minister Dubois to demand his dismissal from his master Philip of Spain, on the ground that he had stirred up the war purely from motives of personal ambition. Alberoni was dismissed, and Philip announced his accession to the terms of the new Quadruple Alliance. Europe now was to enjoy almost absolute peace for a period of twelve years.

The chief measure brought forward in the two sessions of 1719 was one to limit the royal power of creating peers—a measure which, though it might prevent the abuse of the royal prerogative in the creation of peers to secure a majority for the Court, yet would, if carried, have done much harm in causing a stagnation in the House of Peers, and at the same time in taking away a great incentive to exertion on the part of statesmen. The peers themselves were strongly in favour of the Peerage Bill; but the Commons rejected it by a large majority, Walpole leading the opposition to it in a manner that was almost irresistible.

In 1720 the South-Sea scheme came into existence, and was the absorbing topic of interest throughout the country. Perhaps it was in truth the most important event of its time, as affecting the economical progress of the nation far more than treaties and wars. The National Debt at Queen Anne's death had reached fifty-two millions. There was a floating debt of eleven millions in 1711, and Harley, who was then Lord Treasurer, proposed to create a fund for that amount, debenture-holders to become shareholders in a company that was to have the sole right of trading with the Spanish colonies of South America. Spain, however, was not willing to give the right of free trade, which would have rendered the Company of value. However, the Company found other means of employing capital, and many rich persons were amongst its shareholders and directors. In 1719 the King had called the attention of the Commons to the need of reducing the public debt, and in 1720 a proposal was made by the South-Sea Company to take certain irredeemable annuities granted in the two former reigns, to the extent of eight hundred thousand pounds, off the Government's hands. The Bank



OLD NEWGATE PRISON.

of England bid against the Company, but the latter finally offered seven millions and a half to buy up the annuities, which was accepted. The annuitants were not compelled to exchange their Government securities for the Company's stock, but the possibility of the vast development of the Company proved too strong a temptation for most of them, and within six days two-thirds of the annuitants had exchanged their certain income for the mere chance of what might be made out of the exclusive right to South American trade. The South-Sea Scheme gave stimulus to many other schemes, all more or less absurd, but yet which showed how much superfluous capital there was in the country, and how eager people were to rush in whatever direction they seemed likely to obtain large interest for small sums. Companies were started for improving alum works; for paving London; for supplying towns with water; for improving soap, or



LAW, THE DON QUIXOTE OF FINANCE, 1720.



LAW, AS ATLAS.

(FROM AN OLD SATIRICAL PRINT).

paper. These could hardly be classed as absurd, but even these were premature, and were really only promoted chiefly with the view of obtaining profit from the rise of shares. But chief amongst all reigned the South-Sea scheme. Everybody rushed to buy shares, and sold out every other source of income that they possessed to enable them to do so. Driven on by the rivalry of other companies that came into the field—companies for fattening hogs, or for importing jackasses from Spain—the South-Sea Company's promises rose till they proclaimed that their dividend would be 50 per cent. on their £100 shares, and the price of their shares went up to £1,000 in August, 1720. But at last the South-Sea Company determined to crush some of their rivals by bringing Government to bear upon them. Writs were issued against many companies that had not been properly incorporated, and their shares went down. A beginning

having been made, every other sort of stock declined as well, the South-Sea stock among the rest. The shares at the end of September had fallen to 175; the South-Sea Bubble, as it came to be called, had burst. Many people were ruined, and died of broken hearts; many had to retire. But fortunately, the mischief did not consist so much in a wholesale destruction of capital as in a general shifting of capital from one hand to another. It looked, however, as if the resultant convulsion might raise difficulties to the state, and Walpole was agreed upon by all parties as the man to restore the national credit. There was a great cry for vengeance on the South-Sea directors, but Walpole said that there was time to punish them after the difficulties had been set right.

Walpole had indeed a difficult task before him. It would have been impossible, of course, to have put the individual speculators back into the same positions as they had been before the rage began, though many of them seemed to expect



TAILORS' HALL, THREADNEEDLE STREET.

that this ought to be done. There was sufficient work for any man in the setting the Government free from any share in the embarrassments of the South-Sea Company. Fortunately, there had been no attempt to keep up the value of the Company's shares by arbitrary laws, which were opposed to all the natural laws of finance. This had been tried in France, where a similar crash had been brought about by the failure of a scheme proposed by a Scotchman called Law, to restore prosperity by the issue of a paper currency, based on the imaginary riches of Louisiana. Fortunately English finance, in spite of the national debt, was in a healthier condition than that of France had been long before these schemes were originated, and therefore the Government could afford to be honest. But the English court was not entirely free from the charge of bribery with respect to the issue of the fictitious South-Sea stock, and though much of the clamour for revenge on the Directors that arose from all parts of the country was reasonable, as coming from those who had really ruined them-

selves through preferring speculation to work, yet it was the business of Parliament to investigate the extent of the corruption, and mete out punishment so far as it was really needed. Throughout the whole of the next session the Commons were occupied on this business. Walpole at first proposed, for the purpose of sustaining the national credit, that the Bank of England and the East India Company should take up the South-Sea stock between them; but this was afterwards changed for a Bill to compel the Directors to make an accurate return of their private estates, which were to be confiscated to form a fund in order to provide some remedy for the general disaster, and to prevent them leaving the country. Mr. Knight, the cashier of the Company, fled to Brabant, after having taken care to mutilate his books to hide the facts of many people in high positions having been corrupted by the Company; but enough evidence was collected from the other Directors to prove that this had been the case. Charles Stanhope was only cleared from the charge of corruption by the narrowest majority; Sunderland was also cleared, but public opinion was so strong against him that he had to resign his position at the Treasury. Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sent to the Tower. James Craggs died of smallpox and anxiety, and his father, the Postmaster-General, poisoned himself. The punishment of the Directors was most severe. Their property, to the amount of two millions, was confiscated, only just enough was left to them to live on, and they were forbidden for ever to hold any kind of office. It may seem extraordinary now, that liberty and law could have been so violated that a retrospective law should have been passed to avenge individuals who had chiefly suffered from their own imprudence, but it must be remembered that speculation was a new thing in those days, and the public indignation at its occasionally disastrous results had not been tempered, as it would have been now, by experience.

During the debate in the House of Lords on the South-Sea Company, Lord Stanhope, moved to anger by a most unwarrantable attack made upon him by the Duke of Wharton, was seized by a rush of blood to the head, and died next day. Townsend succeeded to his place, and with Walpole as Chancellor of the Exchequer, measures were taken by him to restore public confidence. The South-Sea Company was released from certain engagements to the Government, and its bonds were restored to their proper original value.

In the session of 1722 an attempt was made to repeal an Act that had been passed to compel the seclusion of infected families, and even towns, but it proved fruitless. An Act was passed, however, for the relief of Quakers, who had petitioned for an extension of their political and domestic powers, which had been greatly curtailed hitherto by the present form of affirmation, which had been prescribed to them in lieu of the common form of oath. The bishops and clergy strongly opposed this, but it was carried. Parliament was dissolved under the Septennial Act on the 15th of March. During the prorogation both Sunderland and the Duke of Marlborough died, and the latter was buried at Westminster Abbey with a pomp befitting his military achievements. In 1720 a son had been born to the Pretender, and with his birth the hopes of the Jacobite enthusiasts

again arose. There was to be another invasion of England under the Earl of Ormond, and the English Jacobites, amongst whom Atterbury still stood prominent, were to seize the Tower and the Bank, and proclaim James III. This was to take place in the summer of 1722, when the King should have gone to Hanover. Troops were raised throughout Europe, and the Regent of France was applied to for assistance in the enterprise, but he, being favourably disposed to the existing



HYDE PARK AND THE SERPENTINE.

Government, warned the British minister at Paris. The King was advised not to leave England; a camp was formed in Hyde Park; several of the conspirators were arrested, and after some little delay Atterbury was arrested as well and sent to the Tower. The new Parliament met in October; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for a year; the Pretender's manifesto proposing that George should resign the crown of England to him, on condition that he should support his title as King of Hanover, was burnt by the common hangman; and Atterbury, after a

long debate, and an able defence made by him at the bar of the House of Lords, was deprived of his bishopric of Rochester, and retired to France, where he died in 1732. In this manner the conspiracy came to nothing.

Ireland had been suffering for a long time from the want of a proper currency to conduct the smaller operations of trade—to such an extent, indeed, that labourers were commonly paid by cards, bearing the seals and signatures of their employers. In 1722 a patent had been granted to Mr. Wood, a proprietor of copper and iron mines, to coin farthings and halfpence for Ireland, to the extent of £108,000. A certain profit was, of course, to be made by the patentee, but not nearly as much as the Irish Parliament believed, who complained that this abuse of the royal prerogative, as they called it, would entail a loss to the nation of 150 per cent. The truth was that the Irish Parliament was offended at not having been consulted in the matter. In vain Walpole showed that he had carefully examined into all the



NAVAL SCHOOL, GREENWICH.

rights of the matter, and in conjunction with Sir Isaac Newton had ascertained that no fraud had been meditated by Wood. The Irish had lost all calmness on the subject of the proposed halfpence, and they found an able sustainer of their supposed rights in the person of Dean Swift, who was delighted to find an opportunity of embarrassing the Government. He wrote a series of letters on the subject, called "Drapier's

Letters," setting forth, in very plausible but imaginary detail, the great injustice meditated on his fellow-countrymen. Lord Carteret, who had become Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in vain offered a reward for the discovery of the author of these letters. He tried to prosecute the printer, but the grand jury threw out the bill, with an intimation that they considered the introduction of the proposed coinage as most pernicious to the country, and that all resistance to it ought to be encouraged and not repressed. Swift had gained his victory, though by no means with credit to himself for the manner in which he had done so. The patent was cancelled, and Ireland restored to quiet again.

The Scotch in their turn became violently excited over a purely domestic question, in the following year. Their public opinion broke out against a proposed tax of threepence on every barrel of beer, which the House of Commons, contrary to Walpole's wishes, had proposed to substitute for the Malt Duty, which the Scotch brewers had always managed to evade. A riot took place in Glasgow,



which had to be quelled by the military; but in Edinburgh the brewers were more sensible, and reflecting that they would do themselves more harm than good by closing their breweries, as they had thought of doing, went to work again quietly. Walpole was a skilled master in the art of not persevering too far for the sake of principle. In the same year the Earl of Macclesfield, the Lord Chancellor, was impeached on the charges of having sold Masterships in the Court of Chancery, and of having connived at the fraudulent dealings of the Masters with the trust money that they found in their hands for the time being. He was found guilty, fined thirty thousand pounds, and debarred for ever from holding any public office—a very severe punishment, but one which such abuse of one of the most responsible offices in the state most fully merited.

War was threatening on the Continent again. A Congress had been sitting at Cambrai since 1720, to discuss the principal claims and disputes of the various European powers; but it had effected little, and the Emperor and the King of Spain were putting their heads together to further their respective interests in a rather more off-hand fashion than by waiting for arbitration. Furthermore, in 1725, Louis XV., who had come of age and assumed the crown of France, had insulted Spain by breaking off his engagement with the Infanta, who was a mere child. A treaty was made at Vienna between Spain and Austria



GREENWICH COLLEGE.

and King George declining to interfere in the question at all, was regarded as an ally of France. Both Walpole and Cardinal Fleury, the prime minister of Louis XV., were undesirous of rushing too hastily into war, but there was ample reason for both to take measures of precaution. A treaty was arranged between England, France, and Prussia, which was approved of in Parliament by a large majority; but still both England and France were averse to war. It seemed almost as if Spain might have changed its policy, for Ripperda, the minister who had been chief in this aggressive policy, was suddenly disgraced. He fled, however, to the house of the English minister, and in revenge disclosed the secret articles of the Treaty of Vienna, amongst which appeared prominently the proposed extirpation of Protestantism. War now again seemed imminent; it was again not formally declared, but a fleet was sent to the Baltic to frustrate any intentions that Russia might have to help Austria and Spain, and another, under Admiral Hosier,

blockaded Porto Bello, in the West Indies. At the opening of the session of 1727, the King announced the discovery, amongst the secret articles of the Treaty of Vienna, of a design to place the Pretender on the throne of England. The two Houses were indignant, and the Austrian ambassador was given notice to quit. Spain had meanwhile begun operations by the siege of Gibraltar; a gallant defence was made under Lord Portmore, and after four months the siege was raised. Still, in spite of all this provocation, the threatened war did not break

out; and by skilful diplomacy, and the favourable working of alliances with Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, England and France were enabled to persuade Austria to accede to the measures of mutual accommodation which they proposed. Spain, therefore, stood alone again, neither at peace nor at war, but rather as a nonentity among the states of Europe.



ARMS OF HANOVER.

Bolingbroke had been restored to his estates by the intervention of Walpole; but not content with this, had the ingratitude to write to George denouncing the policy of Walpole, with a view to ousting him from office and taking his place himself. George, however, treated his overtures with the contempt they deserved, and consigned his letter to oblivion. On the 3rd of June the King set out for his annual visit to Hanover. His wife had died in the previous November, after many ineffectual attempts to escape from her imprisonment. On the 10th of June he was leaving Delden in his coach, on his way to Hanover, when a mysterious hand was put into his coach with a letter, which he opened and read. People said that it was a summons from his unfortunate wife to meet her at the judgment-seat of God. That may or may not have been; but he was then and there seized with a fit. He only spoke enough then to direct that he should be taken to Osnabruck, where his brother was prince-bishop. And then once again he murmured, "C'est fait de moi" ("All is over with me"), and when the coach arrived at full gallop at Osnabruck, as midnight tolled out, it only bore the corpse of him who had been the King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### GEORGE II.

**T**HE new king, surrounded as he had been as Prince of Wales by his own courtiers and advisers, had never liked Sir Robert Walpole, his father's chief minister, and when the latter took the news of George I.'s death to Richmond, he was received coldly. In reply to his request for instructions as to summoning the Council, and other necessary formalities, he was told to apply to Sir Spencer Compton, a man of "great application but of no talents," who had been Treasurer to the Prince of Wales, and whom, it now was evident, George meant for his minister. Walpole expressed no resentment, and only asked for some small court office as a proof that he was not considered to be disgraced; but Compton was nervous about taking office, and went to Walpole for advice in everything. The Queen also was favourably inclined to Walpole. When the Civil List, too, came to be talked over in Parliament, Walpole was so liberal in his proposals in the king's behalf—at the expense of the national pocket—that he eventually remained in office, and Compton was only made President of the Council—a position more of honour than of responsibility. George II. was not a very powerful king in matters of government. He was subject to a good many prejudices, and he was supremely avaricious. His chief redeeming points were personal bravery and a strong love of justice. Fortunately, he was blessed with a good Queen and a good minister. Queen Caroline had the art of ruling without appearing to do so, and during the first fourteen years of George II.'s reign, she and Walpole, by a judicious policy of leaving well alone, yielding when the storm threatened to become too strong for them, and keeping their majority in Parliament at whatever cost, though they cannot be said to have won much honour for the nation, succeeded in establishing affairs under the Hanoverian dynasty on a thoroughly firm footing.

There was little danger to be apprehended for the present from the exiled Stuart family. The disputes about the Spanish succession, which had been agitating Europe for so long, had come to an end with the confirmation of the Pragmatic Sanction at Vienna, by which Charles, the Emperor, provided that his Austrian estates should go in the female line; and for the next twelve years there was no hope for the Pretender of obtaining assistance from abroad. His personal

character was not such as to excite enthusiasm, and the Jacobite agents in Britain had to wait to see what sort of man his lately born son would turn out to be.

In 1728, Frederick, the eldest son of the king, arrived in England. He, too, was not on the best of terms with his father, who stinted him in his allowance, and in other ways behaved to him as sovereigns have too often behaved to their heirs. Frederick was to have married the Princess of Prussia, but, perhaps through the bungling of his father's emissaries, the engagement fell through, and another wife was provided for him.

In 1730, Townsend and Walpole quarrelled, and, the former resigning, Walpole remained in supreme power. The next two and a-half years were devoted almost exclusively to domestic affairs. In 1730 there was a great movement on the part



INTERIOR OF THE FLEET PRISON. (FROM HOGARTH'S PICTURE.)

of the Dissenters to obtain a repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, on the ground that their community had done much to ensure the stability of the Protestant succession. Walpole was not averse to their claims, but he saw what an evil effect it would have on the clergy, who were a powerful body in the kingdom. So he persuaded the Dissenters to abandon their object, doing his best, however, to console them to some extent, as long as he remained in office, by getting relief for all such as might have violated the law as it then stood.

The same year a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to enquire into the state of the gaols of the kingdom, which resulted in the exposure of a system of corruption and cruelty that was a disgrace to any nation calling itself civilized. The Fleet, the Marshalsea, and the King's Bench prisons

for debtors were those selected for enquiry. It had been the practice to grant the wardership of these prisons to private individuals, on payment of a large sum to some officer of the Crown, and these individuals looking on their trust purely in the light of an investment, proceeded to recoup themselves by making all they could out of their prisoners, charging them exorbitant prices for small comforts and food, and inflicting the most horrible punishments and even tortures on those who could not afford to pay. The warders of the Fleet and the Marshalsea were deprived of their office; the King's Bench was found to be comparatively free of these gross abuses of power. In 1731 an important change was effected in the transaction of legal business by the substitution of English for the corrupt Law Latin that, with the exception of the brief interval of the Commonwealth, had hitherto been the language in which all pleadings were written. This was brought about, in the first instance, by the petition of the magistracy of Yorkshire, who complained, very justly, that legal Latin was a language not "understood of the people," and only by a very few really learned in the law. The Bill for this purpose met with much opposition on the part of the lawyers, but was passed nevertheless; and the Lords added another clause to it, providing that all records and documents were to be thenceforth written in a clear and legible hand. An attempt was made at the same time to abolish the system of special pleadings, which "by their intricacy and dilatoriness, rendered the prosecution of the rights of



LADIES OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE II.

the subject difficult and expensive, especially in the matter of the recovery of small debts;" but this demand was in advance of the times, and had to be dropped.

The King, in his opening address in 1732, referred to the peaceful relations of England to the other powers, and hoped that they might inspire similarly peaceful relations amongst parties at home. But this could hardly be hoped for. Pulteney and Bolingbroke, with their organ 'The Craftsman,' were unsparing in their attacks on Walpole: the great writers of the day did not hesitate to rush into the conflict, for one party or the other, and quarrels, scandals, libels, and even duels were the order of the day.

The vigour of the opposition, seizing on every point which they thought would, justly or not, strengthen them in the country's opinion against the Government, is very strikingly shown in the tirades of Pulteney against the maintenance of a standing army. Perhaps, on the whole, he was right in his assertion that standing armies had proved to be the means of enslaving other nations. But in England the case was different, for there the expression of public opinion was never effectually

repressed. Constant endeavours were made to prevent the publication of the Parliamentary debates, but in vain. In one way or another all measures against reporting the proceedings in the House of Commons were evaded, and thus the people, in whom, after all, the right of governing themselves lay, knew what their representatives were doing.

In 1732 Walpole revived the Salt Tax, in order to conciliate the landed gentry, by relieving them of a great part of the Land Tax. As a consequence of this imposition on an article of common use, which would fall much more generally on the whole of the nation, down to the poorest, there was a great outcry throughout the country, as many looked upon it only as a step towards a general excise, and when, in the next session, he proceeded further to propose a system of collecting an inland duty on tobacco and spirits, instead of taxing them on their entry into the country as before, which had led to a great loss to the revenue through organized smuggling, the excitement throughout the country was such as to threaten the safety of the monarchy. The very name of excise acted on the nation like a red rag on a bull. Walpole was vilified in Parliament and mobbed outside it; riots were raised in the country; and it was even feared that the very soldiers, who would be ready enough to fight the Pretender, would refuse to fight against the opposers of the excise, or that they would even mutiny amongst themselves—as an idea had sprung up amongst them that tobacco would go up in price. Walpole, with his usual judgment, saw that either the Bill or himself must go. The King and Queen begged of him not to resign, and so the Bill was sacrificed. Walpole himself moved its deferment for two months, which virtually meant its abandonment, and the rejoicing throughout the kingdom was universal, and unsparingly expressed. Never again, Walpole remarked, would he be so mad as to engage in anything that had the faintest resemblance to an excise.

Walpole had rather a difficult task with the King, who was at heart a soldier, and with the Queen, who was jealous for everything that concerned the safety of their German dominions, to prevent them from meddling in the affairs of Europe, which, on all sides, was either arming or actually at war. In 1734 the King of Poland had died, and as Austria and Russia on the one side, and France on the other, supported rival claimants to succession, the war, thus begun, went on in a more general manner; and many of the old disputes between France, Spain, and Austria were revived. Still the King's speech at the opening of Parliament, in 1734, put into his mouth by Walpole, was one of extreme good sense and moderation, pointing out that he found it advisable to take no active part in the hostilities, though, at the same time, he reminded his counsellors that to be forearmed against possible contingencies was necessary to procure the respect due to England from the other nations of Europe. In the end Walpole was thanked by his master for having restrained him from rushing into the war. The King found that, by taking neither side, his friendship was sought by all sides. Holland had, in the same way, remained neutral, and in 1735 England and Holland were chosen by the belligerents as mediators and arbitrators for a peaceful settlement of all disputes.

A great effort was made during the session for a repeal of the Septennial

Act; many of those who had originally voted for the Act, now, in their jealousy of Walpole, as vigorously voting for the return to triennial parliaments. An election was due very soon, and everything was done to catch the popular vote and eject the Prime Minister. Bolingbroke, with all his sophistical arguments, was behind the opponents of Walpole; Sir William Wyndham was Bolingbroke's mouthpiece in the House of Commons, and under cover of a supposititious case of a man raising himself to be Prime Minister, and by corruption and other means collecting a servile Parliament round him, ready to endorse and encourage all his nefarious plans, made a personal attack on Walpole and all his policy during his years of office. Walpole retaliated calmly but firmly, supposing in his turn an unscrupulous personage, who had devoted all his life to tergiversation, and now when he found himself personally at a discount, attempting to oust one whom he



THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW.

looked upon with hatred as more successful than himself in politics, and stirring up others to bear the brunt of a fight in which he was no longer capable of engaging. Of course, by this he intended to denote Bolingbroke, who, he perfectly well knew, was at the bottom of this conspiracy against him. His boldness stood him in good stead. The session closed and left Walpole still in power, and Bolingbroke, disappointed, left England and English politics for ever.

In 1735 the new Parliament met; but the first session only lasted till May, as George went to Hanover, leaving the Queen as Regent. Walpole had provided against the not improbable contingency of George being asked to take command of the Emperor's troops, by refusing to let him have any English soldiers; so that it became impossible for the King of England to command if he had not a single Englishman under him. George returned in October, and shortly after a general peace was concluded at Vienna, which lasted for four years.

But while Europe was thus restored to peace, the domestic peace of Britain was very seriously disturbed. At the beginning of the session of 1735, a petition was presented from the Justices of the Peace for Middlesex to prevent the excessive use of gin, which had become prevalent among the lower classes. In spite of great opposition, and much rioting on the part of the people, a Bill was passed imposing an almost prohibitory tax on the spirit. It seemed unjust and incompatible with the liberty of the people thus to impose sumptuary laws upon them, but the evil certainly did seem to require a remedy. The uselessness of the remedy, however, was shown by the fact that six years afterwards, when the struggle against the gin tax had been persevered in for so long that it was thought best to give way to it, the consumption had positively increased, and not, as the proposers

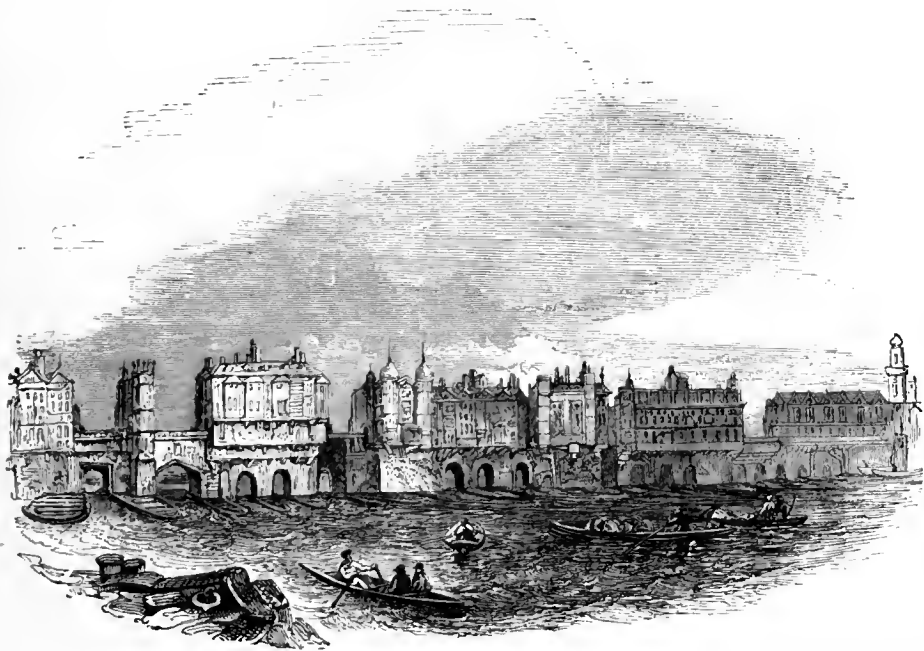


PALL MALL. TIME OF GEORGE II.

of the tax had expected, diminished. In 1736, too, occurred the "Porteous riots" in Edinburgh, which have been so well related by Sir Walter Scott in his "Heart of Midlothian," and which so strikingly illustrate the feelings of aversion that were still commonly cherished in the hearts of the Scotch towards the English. Smuggling had always been prevalent along the coasts of the kingdom, but nowhere, perhaps, so much as along those of Scotland, where the sympathies of the people, both rich and poor, were almost entirely on the side of those whom they regarded as representing a righteous struggle against the hated laws that had been put upon them by the Union in place of their own old laws. Two of the most notorious of these smugglers, named Wilson and Robertson, had been taken in Fife. During their trial at Edinburgh Wilson managed to overpower the guards for the moment, and thus ensure Robertson's escape, which was of course assisted, though passively, by the populace. The authorities were, in conse-



quence, too much on their guard against a rescue when Wilson's execution was carried out; so much so that, although the spectators were quiet during the execution itself, when, as soon as all was over, a rush was made to seize Wilson's body, the captain of the city guard, Porteous, ordered his men to fire, and more than one person in the crowd was killed. For this he was tried and sentenced to be hanged in his turn, much to the delight of the people. What, then, was their anger on learning that the English Secretary of State had reprieved Porteous! It seemed to them to be another slight put upon the nation, through the persons of their justices. The magistrates of Edinburgh were warned that a disturbance was in the air, but all seemed so quiet that they paid little attention to the warning. On the evening of the day on which Porteous ought to have been



LONDON BRIDGE JUST BEFORE THE HOUSES WERE PULLED DOWN.

hanged, a mob arose suddenly, as if from nobody knew where—at least nobody professed to know when enquiry was made into the affair afterwards—and quietly, and in the most orderly fashion, almost before the garrison of the castle had any intelligence of the rising, seized on the city gates, disarmed the city guard, broke open the Tolbooth prison, took Porteous out and hanged him on a dyer's pole in the Grassmarket. Then they all dispersed as quietly as they came, and nobody was able to give any information as to who were the ringleaders, or to tell anything about the rising, beyond that it had happened. The Scotch, as a nation, looked upon the murderers of Porteous as ministers of God to the ends of justice. Great was the feeling in England against the Scotch. The King being absent in Hanover, Queen Caroline was acting as Regent, and she looked upon the deed as a direct slight to herself, and urged her ministers to humiliate the Edinburgh

magistrates to the utmost extent. A Bill was introduced to inflict the severest punishment on the Lord Provost and the people of Edinburgh. The Scotch judges, on being summoned to the House of Lords to give evidence, were treated as common witnesses, and not with the respect to which their office entitled them. But the Scotch members turned against these insults to their nation, and Walpole himself had to admit that the Porteous bill ought to be modified. In the end Edinburgh was fined £2,000 for the benefit of Porteous' widow, and the Lord Provost was disqualified from holding office. A proclamation for discovering the murderers of Porteous was ordered to be read every month in every parish; but many Presbyterian ministers refused to do this, as interfering with the spiritual authority of the kirk.

The King's long absence in Hanover now began to make him generally unpopular, and the Queen becoming equally so, living as she did a very retired life at Kensington Palace, the discontented spirits of the nation began to look towards the Prince of Wales as their favourite. The jealousy between him and his father was notorious. In April of 1736 a new wife was found for him, and it was on the occasion of the address to the King on this event that "Cornet Pitt" first made his appearance. In a sarcastic speech he so distinctly expressed the opinion of the public that his commission was taken away from him. The new Princess was of the Saxe Gotha family, and was a woman of good sense; but, unfortunately, the Prince was too much given to popularity hunting, and even went so far as to make promises to his followers of what he would do for them when he became king. In December the King returned. Foolish advisers counselled the Prince to demand that the allowance which he was receiving from the Crown should be doubled. This led to an open rupture with his father, and he was forbidden to enter the Palace of St. James's, even for the confinement of the Princess, which took place in the July of 1737. In the midst of these unseemly disputes the Queen was suddenly taken ill, and, after a short illness, died at St. James's, recommending her husband to the care of Sir Robert Walpole. During her illness she expressed no wish to see her son, nay, rather showed her desire not to see him, though, perhaps affected by a temporary return of filial duty, he earnestly endeavoured to gain access to her. Walpole was anxious for himself, lest the King should be worked upon by adverse politicians to dismiss him, as had very nearly been the case at the beginning of the reign; but he found that after the death of the wise and far-seeing wife, the weaker husband was influenced by her final advice, and that he was in a stronger position than he had ever been in before.

Walpole needed encouragement from his master, for certainly never was a minister so vehemently attacked on every side, both by the press and on the stage. He despised journalists and pamphleteers, and by his contemptuous treatment of them alienated many of the best writers of the time, who might have otherwise have used their pens in his cause. We have already seen how he was attacked by Bolingbroke and Pulteney in "The Craftsman," but now the stage was becoming so outrageously political, that, in spite of his professed contempt for all such methods of party warfare, he thought it time to bring in a

Bill to give the Lord Chamberlain legal power to license plays or not, according as he thought best for the public morals. This Act still exists, and although at first sight it seems, as was strenuously maintained by its opposers at the time, as if it was an infringement on the liberty of the press, yet it certainly has always been used for the best purposes, and has been a great safeguard against the degeneration of liberty into license.

On the 24th of May (old style)—the 4th of June (new style)—a son was born to Frederick, Prince of Wales; an event which occasioned great national rejoicing, which only seemed, on the other hand, to increase the King's jealousy towards his heir. Things even went so far that a proclamation was made by the Lord Chamberlain that no one attending the Prince of Wales's court should be admitted to that of the King. The opposition, amongst whom one of the chief



COSTUME. THE MALL IN ST. JAMES'S PARK.

was the young Pitt, now avowedly took up the Prince's cause against his father; and two courts, one at St. James's, and one at Carlton House, at the two ends of Pall Mall, divided the society of London.

For twelve years Walpole had kept the country at peace, but in 1739 he allowed his thirst for power to get the better of his principles, and made a false step. He thought the commercial enmity that had existed for years between England and Spain was growing too strong to be resisted any longer, and foolishly yielded to the popular clamour for war. The most prominent matter of contention between the nations had been the monopoly of the trade with South America claimed by Spain. English adventurers contrived to evade the restrictions placed upon them by the Spaniards, and smuggling was rife in the South Seas. As the English grew bolder, the Spaniards grew angrier, and little was wanted to fan the

smouldering hostilities into a flame. The English merchants were constantly complaining of the harsh treatment they met with from the Spanish coastguards, and the opposition took their complaint in hand, seeing in it a weapon against Walpole. Walpole tried at first to obtain a peaceful settlement of these disputes, but while he was negotiating a complainant appeared, whose case stirred the nation into such a rage that Walpole gave up all further hopes of controlling it. This was Captain Jenkins, who, on being produced as evidence before the House of Commons, brought with him his ear, which had been torn out of his head during a raid made on his ship by the Spaniards in the South Seas.

It may seem to us ridiculous, but "Jenkins' ear" was the cause of a war. In vain did Walpole, through the King's speech at the opening of the session of 1739, state that a Convention had been proposed, through which full compensation would be paid by the Spaniards for all injuries inflicted on British subjects. The opposition had, by this artful use of a tangible case of wanton cruelty, stirred up the nation to a mistaken sense of wounded honour. Walpole's resolution in favour of



BRITANNIA DRESSED BY FOX AND NEWCASTLE IN A NEW DRESS.  
(FROM AN OLD PRINT.)

the Convention was only carried by the narrowest majority, and the Government victory was virtually a defeat. Sir William Wyndham, with sixty members of the opposition, seceded in disgust, as they said, at the grovelling policy of the Government. Spain, enraged in her turn at the denunciations that had been hurled against her by the "patriots" in Parliament,

behaved haughtily and uncompromisingly at the Convention, and the proceedings fell through. On October 19 the heralds proclaimed war against Spain in the city. The bells pealed in honour of the event. As Walpole heard them he said: "They may ring the bells now; they will soon be wringing their hands."

Walpole found himself no better off when he had consented to the war. His enemies saw he had made a mistake, and took no trouble to hide the fact that they were only seeking to add to his embarrassments. All the blame of the extra taxation which the war made necessary was laid upon him. His scheme for supplying men for the navy from the merchant ships was quoted as an instance of despotism. The Duke of Argyle deserted him; the Duke of Newcastle turned against him in the Cabinet. Walpole saw that his power was slipping away, and, in despair, gave in to everybody and left it to Providence to bring the country out of the difficulties into which the multitude of new counsellors had brought it.

One of the many points on which Walpole had yielded had been the wholesale despatch of ships to America, leaving the English coasts almost defenceless. Vice-

Admiral Vernon was sent out to the West Indies, and there succeeded in capturing Porto Bello. This was an additional triumph for the opposition, from the fact that Vernon had been a parliamentary enemy of Walpole, and had been appointed to the command of the fleet as another part of his general concessions. In the summer of 1740 another fleet was sent out to aid Vernon in following up this success, the whole force now consisting of 115 ships with 15,000 sailors, and an army of 12,000 soldiers under General Wentworth. It was resolved, on the advice of Vernon, to make an attack on Cartagena, the strongest fortified place in South America, and the fleet accordingly sailed thither and landed the troops. An assault was made on the town, and the fleet actually penetrated into the inner harbour; but, whether through want of cordiality between the two commanders, as was said, or not, the land forces met with nothing but reverses; and though Vernon, who was a most conceited man, actually wrote home asserting that he had taken the city, no more was really effected than the capture of the outlying forts. The troops lay off the place till the wet season had set in and a bad epidemic fever had broken out amongst the forces, whereupon further assault was abandoned, and the fleet returned home.

In 1740, too, Commodore Anson, with a squadron of six vessels, started to double Cape Horn and attack Peru. The audacity of this expedition now seems to us extraordinary, when we read of how badly manned and inefficiently equipped the ships were. After all, the original object of the expedition was never carried out. Anson, however, succeeded in making the circuit of the world and picking up several valuable prizes on the way, and finally returned to Spithead in the month of June, 1744, nearly four years after he had left it.

Meanwhile, as Walpole had foreseen, the war with Spain had grown into a general conflict throughout Europe. France and Spain formed a family compact of alliance, and in 1740 the difficulty that had long threatened the peace of Europe showed itself. Charles, the Emperor of Austria, died; and immediately more than one rival to Maria Theresa, his daughter, for the succession appeared, the stipulations of the Pragmatic Sanction being completely



ignored. The King of Prussia was amongst the most formidable of these rivals, and it was evident that England must be forced into a long and an exhausting war.

But even the danger to European peace did not prevent Walpole's enemies from expending most of their energy, which might at this juncture have been so much more usefully employed, in venting their hatred upon him. In the beginning of the session of 1741, an address was moved to the King, praying him to dismiss the minister, on the grounds of general corruption, and of having absorbed all the power in the State to himself. Walpole made a spirited defence, and the motion was rejected in both Houses by a large majority; but when Parliament met again in December, the Government majority became smaller and smaller, till at last Walpole yielded to the advice of his friends, and resigned on the 1st of February, 1742. He was created Earl of Orford, but the bitterness of his enemies did not cease with his fall from power. A Secret Committee was appointed which was at first intended to inquire into the whole of his administration, but was afterwards limited to the last ten years of it; but no charge could be substantiated against him. He had never been corrupted himself, and but little could be proved against him in the way of corrupting others, so that no further proceedings were taken on the report of the Committee. Pulteney soon afterwards went to the House of Lords as Earl of Bath, and Walpole greeted him with the remark, "Here we are, my lord, the two most insignificant fellows in England."

In the Parliament of 1741 a subsidy had been granted to Maria Theresa, and it had been unanimously agreed that England should do all in its power to support the Pragmatic Sanction. Maria Theresa had married the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Her subjects had acknowledged her title gladly, but the first to dispute it was the Elector of Bavaria. The other German powers began to look for some gain to themselves in the general scramble, most notably Frederick II., the King of Prussia, who revived an old claim to part of Silesia that had been taken away from his ancestors so far back as the Thirty Years' War. He threw thirty thousand of his grenadiers—the best trained soldiers in Europe—into Silesia; and paused for a moment, while he proposed to Maria Theresa to support her claims to the general succession if she would cede the province to him. When she refused to do anything of the kind he speedily overran Silesia with little opposition. The French now showed themselves ready to ally themselves with him and the Elector of Bavaria, and sent two armies to move upon Vienna. Maria Theresa fled with her infant son to Hungary, where she met with a hearty response to her appeal to the nobles. The struggle went on with shifting success on either side; the Elector of Hanover, at first, against the feeling of his English Parliament, still trying the effect of neutrality. The Elector of Bavaria was chosen Emperor of Germany, at Frankfort, on the same day that the Austrians entered his capital of Munich; but Frederick of Prussia stepped in and turned the scale. A treaty was at last made between Prussia and Austria, which gave Silesia to Prussia.

When Walpole had been got rid of, the opposition found themselves at a loss, as having very little common ground on which to carry on the Government in his place. No further changes after his fall seemed to be needed. The Duke of

Argyle proposed to form a coalition ministry, but the King would have nothing to do with the Tories, so that the Duke retired in disgust at the rejection of his scheme.

Lord Carteret now took Walpole's place in the King's favour, which he



HIGHLAND GILLIE.

maintained by encouraging his ambition to control European affairs. The new foreign policy was to take Hanoverian troops into British pay, for the furtherance of electoral ends, which was in direct contradiction to the Act of Settlement. Pitt and others strongly deprecated this policy in Parliament, and though a resolution

in favour of it was carried, the nation was deeply moved against it. England seemed to be becoming a mere province of Hanover; she was not really engaged in war with France, but was paying troops to fight against the power that was in alliance with France.

While Walpole had held the reins of power very little opportunity had been given to the Jacobites to carry out any new schemes. He had been perfectly well informed as to their movements, and without parading his services in that line, had always managed to keep them in awe of him. Further, it would have been bad policy on the part of the Stuarts to have attacked England while she was unencumbered and at peace. But after Walpole's fall, whilst England was at war with Spain and France, things seemed to be looking better for them. Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, was invited to come from Rome to France, whence an expedition was to be led by the great Marshal Saxe to drive George II. from his throne. The expedition started at the beginning of the 1744 from Dunkirk; but a great storm broke up the fleet, and Charles Edward had to retire for awhile.

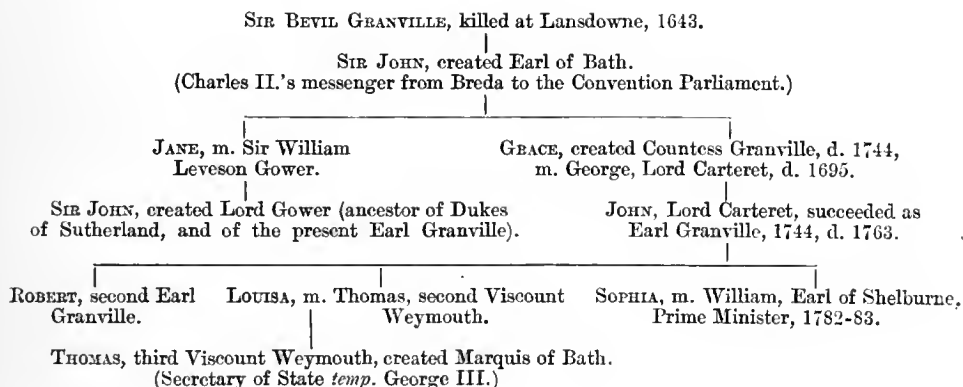
In June, 1743, the King had joined the English and Hanoverian army in Germany. Finding it in a very uncomfortable position he took command of it, and personally extricated it from its difficulties, inflicting a severe defeat on the French at Dettingen. The English commander Stair, it is to be suspected, was rather chagrined at the sorry part that he had played in this campaign, and after trying in vain to persuade George to follow up his success by some rash venture, threw up his commission, on the alleged ground that the King was too much influenced by Hanoverian advisers. This gave rise to a revival of the outcry against the Hanoverian party in England, who had succeeded rather to the odium formerly lavished upon Walpole by the opposition than to the power which he had possessed. These dissensions favoured the notion in France that England was so torn up by internal conflicts that she would prove an easy prey to an invader, and so led to the abortive attempt above described. But on the first symptom of public danger, all parties united against it for the time, and war was formally declared against France in 1744.

The King of Prussia overran Bohemia in the course of the next year, and it was with great trouble that George was restrained by his ministers from again leaving England to take the field. As a matter of fact, the battle of Dettingen was the last occasion on which a king of England commanded his troops in person. Carteret, now Lord Granville, who supported the King's wish to go abroad, was compelled to resign; and George, much to his dislike, was forced to put himself into the hands of Newcastle and his brother Pelham, who advocated a coalition of parties. Pitt was offered a place in the Government, but would accept nothing less than a Secretaryship of State. However, he did not oppose the new ministry, but voted this time for a grant for the continuance of war in Flanders, on the ground that now war was necessary to maintain the influence of England in continental affairs. Chesterfield was sent over to negotiate with the estates of Holland, and the Duke of Cumberland was made Commander-in-Chief of the combined forces against France. In March, 1745, Walpole, Earl of Orford, died just in time to



avoid seeing all those evils come upon his country that he had so long laboured successfully to avert. The new Elector of Bavaria had withdrawn his claims from Austria and made peace with Maria Theresa, and the contest only remained between England and France. In the campaign of 1745 was fought the famous battle of Fontenoy, a striking example of the stubbornness of English soldiers, but by which, as indeed was the case in the whole campaign, nothing was gained if nothing was lost.

GENEALOGY OF THE CARTERETS AND GRANVILLES.



In 1744 an Act was passed making it high treason to hold correspondence with any of the Stuart family in the event of their attempting to land in Great Britain. This measure was strongly opposed, mainly on the ground that it was entirely unnecessary. Indeed, so far as regarded the English, it was, for in this country where everyone felt the advantages of a constitutional government over that of an hereditary and, consequently, more or less despotic monarchy, Jacobitism was a quite worn-out creed. But the Stuarts abroad, and their foreign friends, who had no opportunity of understanding the workings of a representative government, could not understand the difference between discontent and disaffection, and thought that they only had to land to raise the greater part of the nation to support their "divine right." In Scotland, however, things were different. There then existed three powerful reasons for believing that it would be possible to gain the support of that nation: first, the feudal feeling of the Highland clans, which was quite compatible with the doctrine of divine right; secondly, the universal prejudice throughout Highlands and Lowlands against the Union, which was supposed to be the cause of any misfortune or loss that might happen to Scotland; and, thirdly, the imaginative character of the Scotch, which magnified Charles Edward's supposed sufferings into a kind of martyrdom, and made him an object almost of worship. Charles Edward, since he resolved at all hazards to make another attempt to reinstate his family on the throne of England, acted wisely in committing his cause mainly to the Scotch. He was disgusted at the lukewarmness

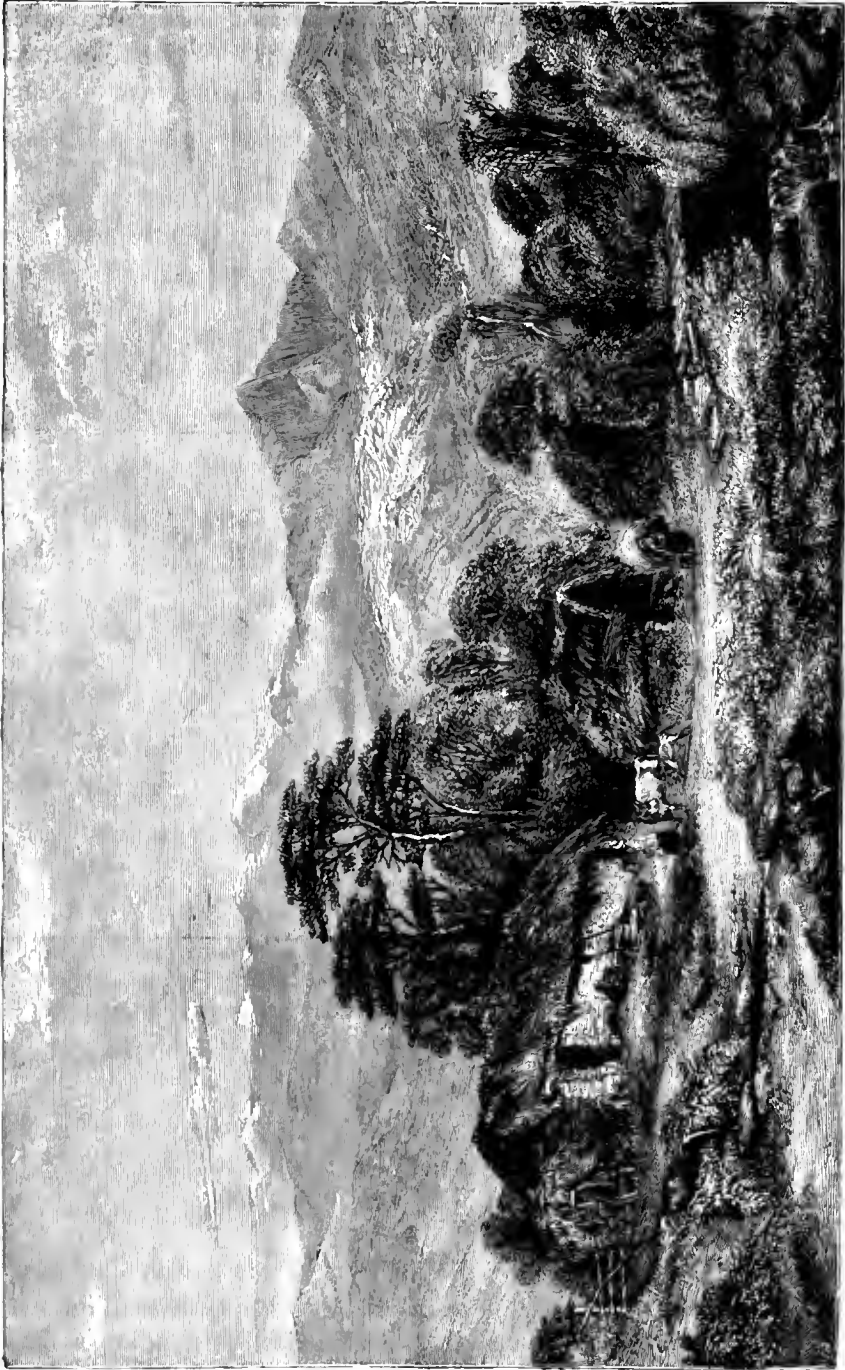
of the French court, which had so easily withdrawn its support after the slight mishap of 1744, and had so readily listened to the remonstrances of the Protestant powers of Europe against the support it was lending to the Roman Catholic party in England. But he kept his own counsel, and perhaps it was as much of a surprise to

his own father as to anybody else when, in the summer of 1745, a courier arrived at the residence of the Stuarts in Rome, announcing to the old Pretender that his son had accepted the invitations of his friends in Scotland, and sailed for that country to take up the work that had been laid aside thirty years before. He had only seven followers with him, amongst whom was the Marquis of Tullibardine, when, after a voyage of eighteen days in a little French vessel, *La Doutelle*, he landed at Eriska, one of the Western Isles, bringing with him a few hundred muskets and broadswords, and a treasure of four thousand louis-d'ors. Messengers were sent out to rouse the neighbourhood. Macdonald of Boisdale came to him and tried to dissuade him from the enterprise, but the Prince was determined to go through with it, and the next day continued his voyage in his little vessel to the mainland. Here the two elder Macdonalds still pressed him to give up his enterprise, and he still insisted on it, till at last their youngest brother suddenly declared that he, at any rate, would stand by his Prince to the death. His brothers were carried away by his enthusiasm, and the spark having once caught, the flame spread rapidly through the neighbourhood. Clanronald, one of the first to join the Prince, was sent to rouse the clans; he failed to persuade Macleod, one of the most powerful of the Highland chiefs; but Cameron of Lochiel, on the other hand, who had made up his mind not to risk himself in such a rash undertaking, was won over by the Prince in person, and became thenceforth one of his most devoted followers. If he had not joined the cause, some historians would have us believe



that the other chiefs would not have done so either. On August 19 there was a gathering of friendly clans at Glenfinnan, and there the Prince's standard was hoisted, and his proclamation of the father as King, and himself as Regent, was read amidst the acclamations of the multitude. The Union and the Hanoverian

dynasty was denounced in terms gratifying the Scotch, though the tone of the proclamation with regard to "traitors" was very moderate. The question really



HIGHLAND HOMESTEAD.

seemed by this document to be a personal one between the Pretender and George of Hanover. George II. was absent in Germany all this time, and the Regency,

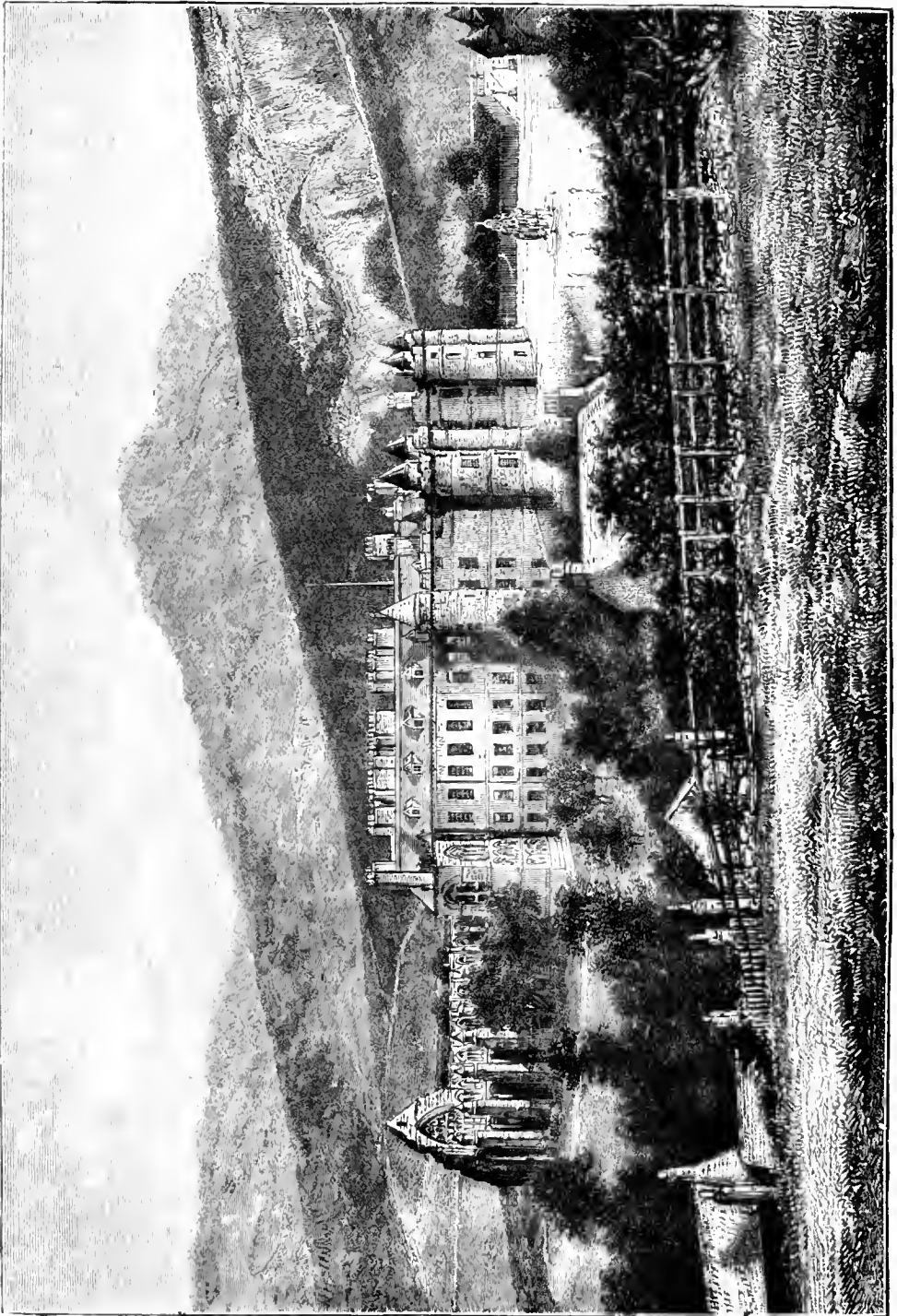
advised by Forbes, the Lord President of Scotland, were confident that this mad enterprise must come to nothing. But they had not reckoned on the fact of the very madness of the enterprise acting as an incentive to the enthusiasm of the people; and after all, whether on purpose or not, the time was well chosen, for there were few troops in Great Britain, and there was no one at the head of the Government who seemed equal to any very great emergency. The Prince marched through



MEETING OF THE CLANS.

the Highlands, the clans gathering round him as he went. Sir John Cope, who had been sent against him, found that it would be of no use to carry out his original intention of meeting the Prince in the Highlands, depending on the help of the loyal clans, for there were very few loyal clans indeed; so he fell back on Inverness, and on September 3rd the Prince entered Perth. Here he was joined by James Drummond and Lord George Murray, and on the 11th of the month

the little army moved on towards Edinburgh. The first Lowlander to join



HOLYWOOD AND ARTHUR'S SEAT.

the Prince was Lord Kilmarnoch. Colonel Gardiner's dragoons fell back before the Highlanders' advance, and they arrived within four miles of the capital without

meeting any opposition. In the city there were divided councils. There were volunteers, but nobody to lead them. While the citizens were deliberating whether they should surrender at once, or wait a little to see if Cope could come to their rescue, the Highlanders rushed in and gained possession of the whole town except the castle. Charles Edward took up his quarters at Holyrood, and had his father proclaimed at the Market Cross. Cope, meanwhile, landed at Dunbar. Both armies had been overrated in numbers by the spies sent out by both sides, and were, consequently, very cautious about attacking each other. Cope at last took up his position at Preston Pans, a short distance out of Edinburgh, and waited the Prince, who marched out to give him battle. Cope had an advantageous position, protected by a morass, and the Prince refrained from attacking till the early morning. Then, led by a man who knew a safe way across the morass, the Highlanders crossed under cover of the mist, and were upon their astonished foes before the latter were aware that they had begun to move against them. The Highland rush was irresistible; horse and foot went down before them; the artillery could not be got into action; confusion reigned everywhere throughout the ranks of the royal army, and in the end the whole of it turned and fled. The slaughter was terrible and ghastly, as all who fell were slain by the sword. The Prince dined on the field—the Highlanders called it Gladsmuir, in honour of an ancient prediction, and because there was a place of that name about a mile distant—and, sleeping the night at Pinkie House, returned to Edinburgh on September 22nd. He remained in Edinburgh till the 31st of October. Many of the Highlanders, indeed, deserted him, as they could not understand that they would be wanted any more now that they had the booty of Preston to carry home. But, on the other hand, many joined him in their place, who had been hesitating before to see how events would fall. The Prince had resolved, directly after his victory, to march on to England, and had sent on his envoy to announce his success and his intention of following it up. In London the first feeling had been one of apathy at the news of the Prince's landing, arising from the notion that the rebels would disperse of themselves; then terror, when the defeat at Preston Pans was announced. The merchants offered money to maintain the public credit; noblemen undertook to raise regiments. The King had returned from Hanover at the end of August, and Parliament was summoned for the 17th of October. The Pretender threatened all Scottish Peers or commoners with the penalties of treason if they presumed to sit in this Parliament; but very few of them kept away in consequence. A strange spirit seemed to have settled on the Commons for the time being, for they immediately set to work to discuss supposed needs for reform in the system of parliamentary representation, which they declared had become too much dependent on the crown. Pitt brought them to their senses by asking them if it was a time for a man to sit down and consider if he was being cheated when thieves were breaking into his house?

Party jealousies even extended themselves to the matter of the regiments that were being raised by the noblemen. It seemed as if the great object of a large number of the Commons was to snub and not to encourage these patriotic efforts in the country's defence. An attempt was made to prevent the officers of the

new regiments from holding any rank after their services should have expired, and it was even intimated that in some cases the Peers had intended to make money out of the undertaking. Pitt stood up boldly against these calumnies, but the divisions in Parliament were such that they served, when reported, as a great encouragement to the Pretender and his supporters. The young Prince had entered Cumberland on the 8th of November, much against the wishes and experience of his Highland advisers, who were willing to set him on the throne of Scotland, but did not wish to have anything to do with him in England. He had himself expected to meet with a grand reception amongst the malcontents in this country, but he miscalculated the chances of inducing her industrious people to change a settled, and on the whole, prosperous condition of life, for the strife consequent on the revival of the old question of hereditary right. It was true that he was allowed to march into the centre of the kingdom without opposition, but it was equally true that scarcely any rose to join his standard.

His army advanced in two divisions; one under Lord George Murray, the other under the Prince himself. By a feint General Wade was beguiled into remaining with his army to defend Newcastle, and meanwhile the two rebel divisions joined together and invested Carlisle. On the fifth day, before Wade had found out his mistake and marched to its relief, that city had surrendered. This success determined the Prince to march on to London. Some of his advisers wished to return to Scotland, where the Stuart cause was beginning rather to fail again, now that the Prince, with his immediate glamour of popularity, was away from them. Most of the chief commercial cities had renewed their allegiance to King George—Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, and Dumfries chief amongst the rest; and even at Perth and Dundee, where strong Jacobite garrisons had been left, the populace insisted on keeping the King's birthday with all loyal honours. When the idea of returning to Scotland, in spite of these reasons in its favour, had been quite abandoned, the moderate party round the Prince were for an alternative plan of waiting events in encampment round Carlisle; but the Prince's zeal in his own



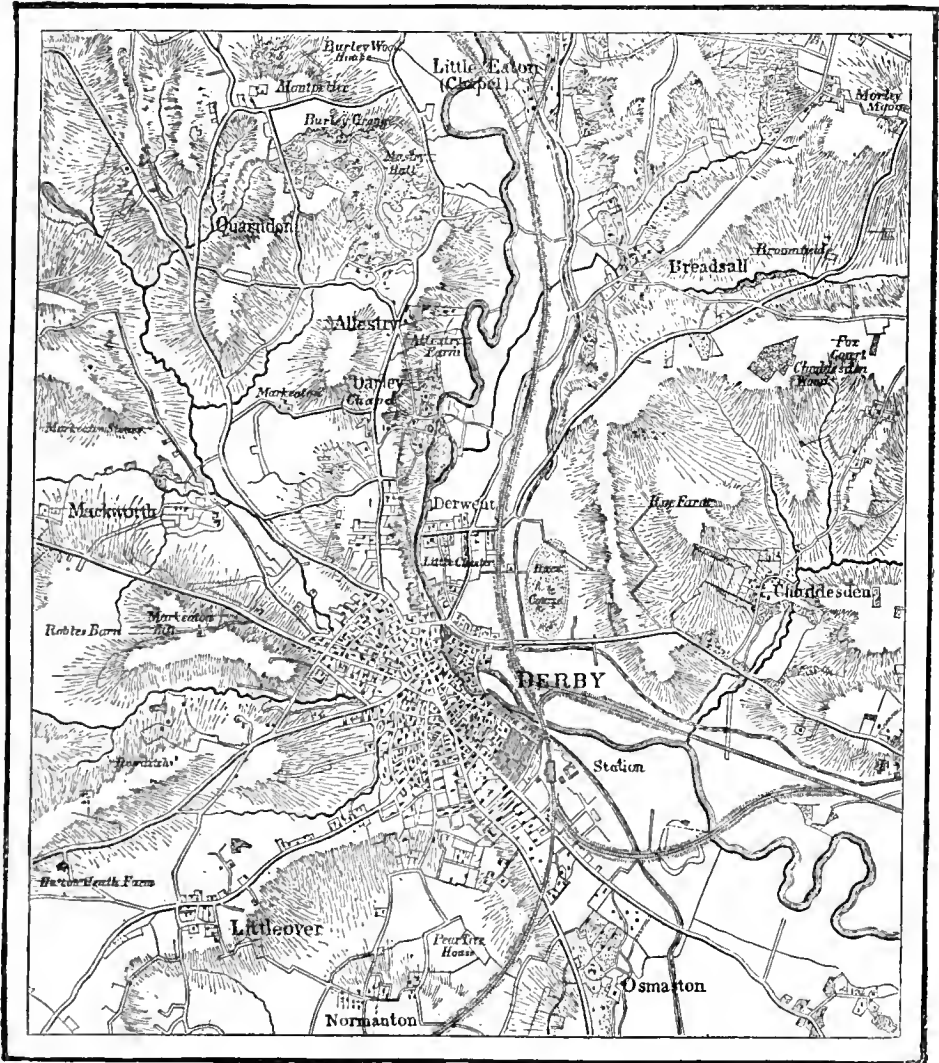
cause prevailed, and at last Lord George Murray had to acquiesce in what he from the beginning considered a wild project, that of proceeding towards the capital by the west road from Carlisle. Murray tried to evade further responsibility by resigning his commission and serving only as a volunteer; but the Prince would not hear of this.

On the 20th of November the rebel army, numbering from five to seven thousand men, left Carlisle, and going by way of Penrith and Kendal, on the 27th reached Preston. There was still very little rising in their favour on the part of the people; on the contrary, the tendency of the majority seemed to be to run away before their advance and hide all their effects. Manchester fell into their hands in a very remarkable way. A sergeant, accompanied by a girl and a drummer-boy, having gone on before to raise recruits for the Prince, was at first mobbed by the populace and nearly lost his life; but those of the townsmen who favoured the Stuarts, flying to rescue, a reaction set in in his favour, and he presently returned to the army with three hundred recruits, who were formed into a regiment. For all this, however, and in spite of the rejoicings with which they were more or less compelled to celebrate the arrival of the Prince—with the exception of some of the old Catholic families, who came to kiss his hands—the people of Manchester showed little more inclination to attach themselves to his cause than those of any of the other districts he marched through. From Manchester, after two days' stay, he moved on to Macclesfield. A well-planned movement of Lord George Murray drew the Duke of Cumberland, who had been lying at Newcastle-under-Line, in the wrong direction, and the road was left open to them to Derby. They gained little by the capture of this place, only three recruits being added to their ranks. Perhaps the general feeling in the country regarding them now was one of mingled amusement and contempt. People even hired carriages to drive out to see them pass along the road. Fortunately, the Highlanders proved very well-behaved, and did little damage as they went; if they had done any, the country people might have remained, as at first, more exercised at the prospect of their approach. Meanwhile, the Duke of Cumberland got back to Stafford, and was ready to bar any further advance towards London; General Wade was coming up to join the Duke, and a third army was being formed near London; so that in all there were about thirty thousand men, regularly drilled and disciplined, to oppose a little more than five thousand irregulars. In the face of all this, in spite of the Prince's own hopes in the justness of his cause, and the possible defection of the army, and in spite of the eagerness of the Highlanders to meet the Duke of Cumberland in the field, his council of war advised a retreat. Nay, they insisted upon it, as even if they did succeed in reaching London, their small numbers would be lost among the million of inhabitants of the capital. Even now that the Prince had traversed all the provinces that were supposed to be attached to his family to enable them to join him, not a single person of distinction had yet declared himself. In London itself there was little hope of assistance. A camp had been formed on Finchley Common, and confiding on the protection of the army collected there, the citizens were carrying on their business much the same as usual; except, indeed, that such feel-



ings as they showed were against the Pretender and not for him. A French ship had been captured, which was conveying Jacobites to join their friends, amongst them was one of the family of Derwentwater; it was all that the authorities could do to prevent his being torn to pieces by the mob.

Large sums were subscribed for the maintenance and comfort of the troops amongst the members of the commercial world. It was rather an uncomfortable



DERBY.

time, indeed, for those Scotchmen who had settled in London. Andrew Drummond, who had been carrying on the business of a banker since 1707, and had always shown himself perfectly loyal in spite of his connection with one of the leading Jacobite families of the North, now became an object of suspicion on account of that connection, and was seized and searched to find incriminating matter. He finally received an apology from the Government; but he was only one instance

among many of the misfortune of belonging to a not yet altogether reconciled nationality. The Catholics also came rather badly off too. A proclamation was issued, ordering magistrates to discover and bring to justice all Jesuits and Popish priests, and offering a reward of £100 for their apprehension. But though this may appear a harsh measure to us now, it was not altogether unnecessary in those



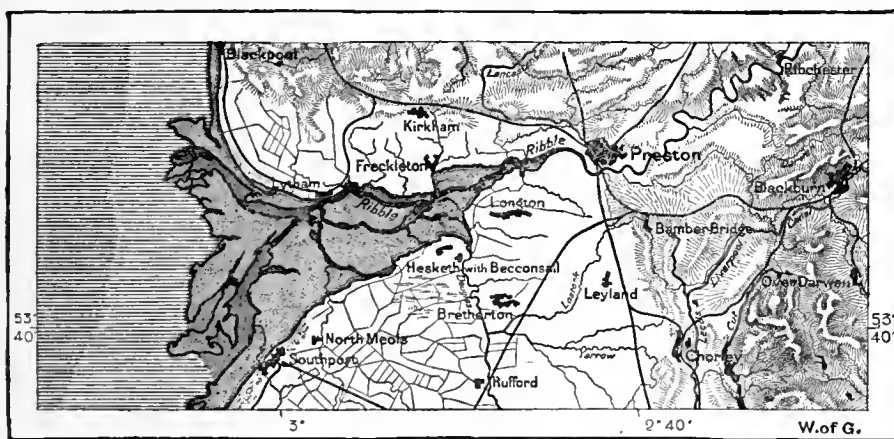
TOWNS IN LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

days, when politics and religion were still confused with each other, especially in the contest between the Hanoverian and the Stuart successions.

Before daybreak, on the 6th of December, therefore, the counsels for retreating having prevailed, the troops moved out of Derby on their homeward march, Lord George Murray organizing the movement, and covering the retreat in person with the rearguard. The Highland common soldiers had been under the impression that they were going out to meet the Duke of Cumberland, and great was the mur-

muring and discontent when, by the growing light of day, they found they were only retracing the road by which they had come. The Prince himself was sulky, and exhibited a stubborn and disheartened demeanour, now that he found that his idea that the sovereign's will was only answerable to God was not believed in implicitly by others. He seemed almost to expect that some miracle would be worked in favour of his divine right. To calmer spirits, with all hopes of a Jacobite rising at home and of help from the French abroad destroyed, never, even when he had at first landed with his seven followers, had his cause appeared to be so desperate.

It was two days before the news of the retreat from Derby reached either the Duke of Cumberland or General Wade, but as soon as they heard of it they marched to intercept it, and united their forces at Kendal on the 17th of the month. The Highlanders had not been behaving so well on their way home, and, by their plundering towns of horses and provisions, had roused the country in arms against them. The royal troops were close behind them on the 18th, and the first



PRESTON.

skirmish took place at Clifton, near Penrith, where Murray, by the bold stand he made, secured the retreat for the van. The rebels reached Carlisle that night, and proceeded next morning, leaving the Manchester regiment and a few Scotch troops as a garrison—but rather, to the disgrace of the Prince, as victims to the royalists, since the town could not possibly be held against the Duke's army. On the 22nd the Duke invested the town, and on the 28th his artillery came up and commenced bombarding the walls. A flag of truce was hung out, and terms were asked for; but the Duke would promise nothing but that the garrison should not be at once put to the sword. The garrison capitulated on these terms. The Duke was then called away to command the forces that had been collected on the southern coast on the alarm of a French invasion, and General Hawley continued the pursuit into Scotland.

The Highland army had crossed the Border on the 20th, and having levied a fine from the merchants of Glasgow, as a punishment for their so-called treason, got possession of Stirling, where they were joined by Lord Strathallan with large

numbers of Highlanders and some French refugees, bringing up their strength to about nine thousand men. The castle of Stirling still held out against them, but they had not time to lay siege to it, for news came of General Hawley's arrival at Falkirk, and they marched out to give him battle. General Hawley had considerable experience, but he had little understanding of the fighting powers of the Highlanders. Their attack was made suddenly, and while Hawley, in his overconfidence, was absent, dining at a friend's house in the neighbourhood. All was hurry and disorder in the royal army; a storm broke out and favoured the rebels by its darkness; the royal cavalry became entangled in a morass; and it is only a wonder and a subject of self-reproach amongst the rebel leaders that their victory was not even more complete than it really was. Hawley left his baggage and guns and retreated first to Linlithgow and then to Edinburgh. In London the news created almost a panic for the moment, and the Duke of Cumberland was sent off post haste to retrieve the disaster. Amongst the Highland regiments which we read of as fighting in the Battle of Falkirk was that of Lord Lovat. Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, had been playing fast and loose with both sides all through the rebellion, and had ultimately sent his son to join the Prince. Now, though he would gladly have evaded the responsibility, his treason was too evident to be overlooked.

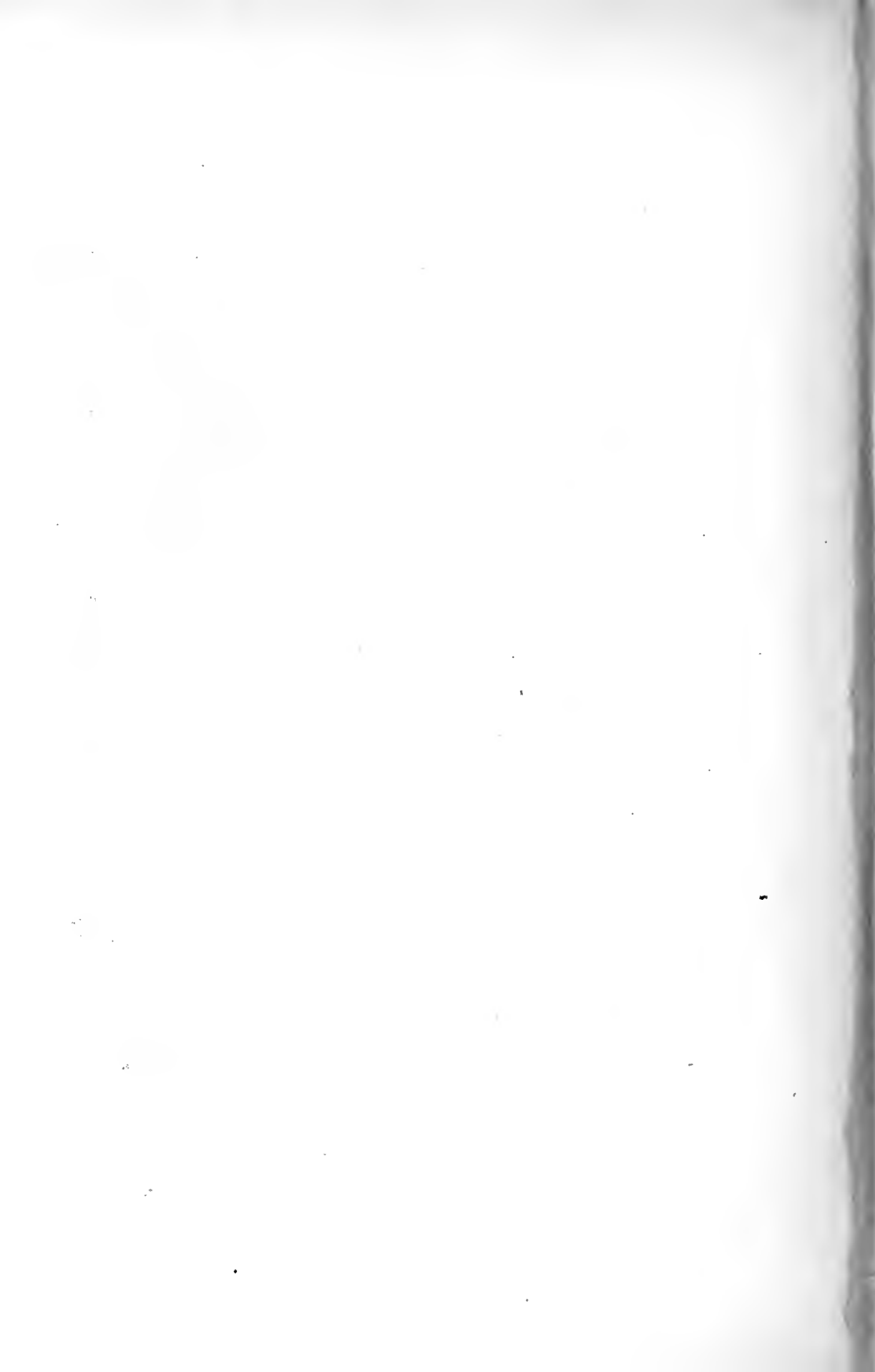
The Duke of Cumberland reached Edinburgh on the 30th of January, and set off at once to raise the siege of Stirling, which the Prince had resumed after the Battle of Falkirk. Notwithstanding that victory, there had since been a large number of desertions from the rebel army, and the Prince's advisers were again compelled to insist on a further retreat, to avoid being destroyed through mere inequality of numbers. The Highlanders accordingly marched northward in two divisions, and on the 18th of February reached Inverness, the Duke of Cumberland, who had been further reinforced by five thousand Hessian troops, following more slowly and taking up his quarters at Aberdeen. His delay itself was militating against the rebels. Every day their condition, cut off as they were from their supplies in the Lowlands by the Duke's army, and by the royal fleet from those sent them from France, became worse and worse, and every day the number of deserters became larger and larger. The citadel of Inverness had, indeed, been taken, and Fort Augustus had been destroyed; but Fort William and Blair Castle still held out; and, at last, on the 8th of April, the Duke commenced his onward march. The passage of the Spey, which might easily have been held by a handful of troops against a multitude, was abandoned by the rebels, and on the 15th the Duke reached Nairn, the Prince's army being then at Culloden Moor, about twelve miles off, drawn up on a plain, singularly unsuited to their usual manner of fighting. An attempt was made from there to march to Nairn and surprise the royal army, who had halted there to celebrate the Duke's birthday; but daylight came on and frustrated the scheme, and the Highlanders returned to their former position.

On the morning of the 16th, jaded and hungry, the Highlanders had to fall in for battle, for the Duke's troops were close upon them. The Prince was still confident in his cause, and though it was pointed out to him how much better suited to his troops the ground was on the other side of the river Nairn, where



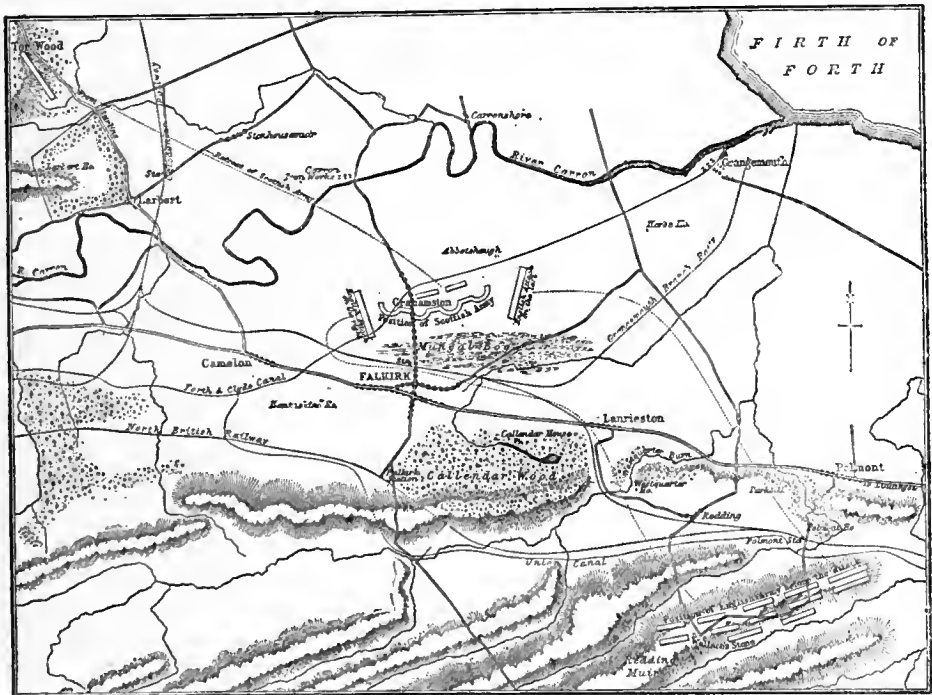
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...Duke ...  
...where







the bogs and the hills would have impeded the royal cavalry and artillery, he would not listen to reason, and formed his line where he stood. At eleven in the morning the Duke came up, and, having placed his cannon, opened fire on the rebels. It was a sore trial to the Highlanders to have to stand still under this, and the word was given to them to make one of their old wild charges, which had been of such effect in former battles. But the English troops had been trained since then to regard these charges with less alarm, and, besides, the flat plain was not so well adapted for sudden onslaughts as former fields had been. The royal troops stood firm, then fired a deadly volley, and the Highlanders turned and fled



THE COUNTRY ROUND FALKIRK.

in confusion. Nothing could be done to rally them, and the battle which sealed the fate of the Stuart dynasty was all over in less than an hour.

Whatever honour the Duke of Cumberland might have gained by this decisive victory he justly forfeited, both in the eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity, by the barbarities with which he allowed, and even encouraged, his soldiers to exercise against those who had rebelled against his father's sovereignty. There was no excuse for him in national or party jealousy; his own papers prove that he looked upon the rebellion as a crime against his house to be deeply revenged. On the day of the battle itself no quarter was given by the soldiers to the rebels; they went up and down the field knocking on the head all whom they found with any life in them; and to make the work sure, on the next morning, such as had escaped this first butchery were collected together in two heaps and blown to pieces with cannon. Parties were sent round the neighbourhood to ferret out any who had

dragged themselves off the field and hidden themselves, and kill them; the peasantry were whipped and put in prison, to force them to confess if they knew the lurking place of any of the refugees; and, in fact, the Duke behaved as if his object was to promote the cause of the Jacobites through their sufferings. In England, at the same time, the ministry did not behave much better in the vindictive spirit which they showed to all, high or low, who had taken part in the rebellion. It would have been quite enough to have punished the leaders, but they extended their legal severity to the lowest of the followers, and wholesale hangings took place on Kennington Common, while Temple Bar bristled with the heads of nobodies. The first to suffer were the eighteen officers who had been left to garrison Carlisle. At Carlisle itself thirty-three, and at York twenty-two, men were executed, with all the brutalities which were then the penalty for high treason. On the 28th of July Lords Kilmarnock, Cromartie, and Balmerino



BRITISH RESENTMENT, OR THE FRENCH FAIRLY  
COOPED AT LOUISBOURG, 1755.  
(From an old print.)

were brought up before the Peers in Westminster Hall. Kilmarnock and Cromartie pleaded guilty, Balmerino stood his trial, but all were condemned to death. Some papers were found purporting to be an order to put to death all English prisoners after Culloden, which influenced the judges most seriously to the prisoners' disadvantage.

Cromartie was eventually pardoned; Kilmarnock and Balmerino died on Tower Hill on the same day, both suffering with resolution. In the December of the same year Lord Lovat was impeached, and his trial and execution took place in the March of 1747. Forty-three persons were altogether attainted by Parliament, some of them belonging to noble families, but many

of them of inferior rank, whom it would have been better policy for the Government to have left alone.

Meanwhile, Charles Edward had been hiding and flying before the scouts of his enemies in the wilds of the Highlands, enduring constant privations and alarms, but experiencing many instances of devotion and self-sacrifice on the part of the people, while, for five months, he waited for an opportunity to escape from the west coast to France, while all the time thirty thousand crowns were set as a price on his head. The troops were out on the search, and to have been convicted of concealing him would have been certain death; but the fidelity of those to whom he entrusted himself was staunch. Foremost among the number stands Flora Macdonald. At last he gained the deck of a French vessel, and sailed to a safe retreat in the company of Lochiel and three others of his faithful companions in adversity.

After the rebellion had been put down, very little of historical interest took place

the next six years. A Parliamentary crisis occurred in 1745, which resulted in Pitt's getting into office under the Pelhams, in spite of the dislike felt by the King towards him. The mouth of the most vigorous of the opposition being thus closed, a calm was established which was rendered more complete by the successful suppression of attempts to give publicity to Parliamentary proceedings. The Duke of Newcastle and his brother, Henry Pelham, conducted the administration between them; the latter taking the open management of the public money, the former trafficking for seats in the House of Commons at his private levées, to the best advantage to himself. Corruption was again becoming a fine art, but what Walpole had used for the support of the Crown was now being used to aggrandise a Whig oligarchy. Pitt alone stood firm amongst his colleagues. Having been made Paymaster-General, his pride revolted against appropriating any of the petty perquisites which



THE ROTUNDA, RANELAGH GARDENS. TIME OF GEORGE II.

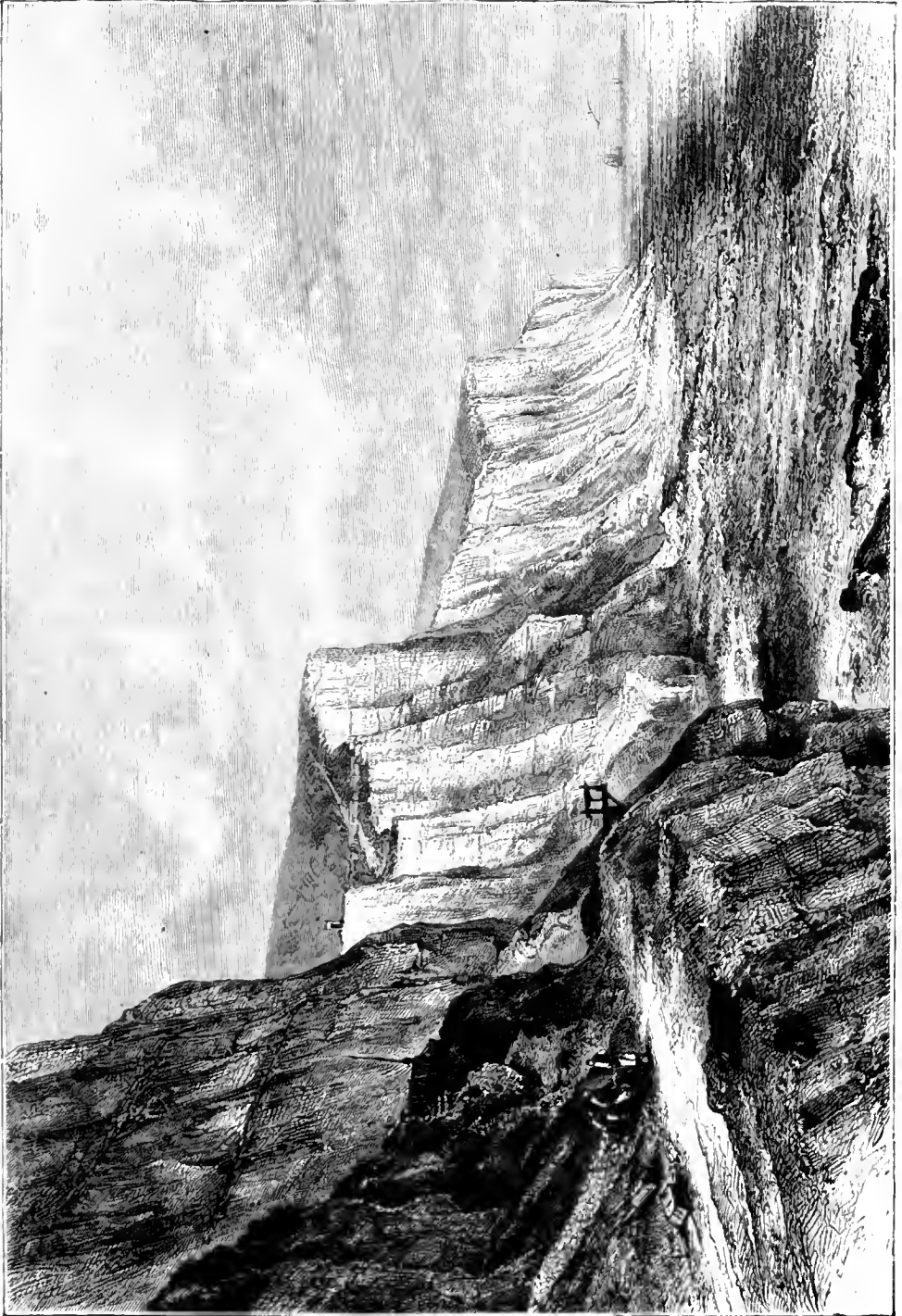
had been formerly attached to the office; and the people came to know that amongst all the tricksters of the Government there was one man who could be trusted to work not for himself but for his country.

The Continental War had been going on during this time with varying fortunes. The French, after the withdrawal of the British troops, had rapidly overrun the Low Countries, but, on the other hand, had been driven out of Italy. The naval supremacy of England had been signally asserted in 1747, under Admiral Anson, who defeated and destroyed a large portion of the French fleet off Cape Finisterre. This success was followed by others under Commodore Fox and Admiral Hawke, who gained another great victory off Belle Isle. But in Holland, in the same year, where the command was divided between the Duke of

Cumberland and Prince William of Nassau, things went badly for the Allies, who were defeated at Maastricht. Louis XV. having expressed a desire for peace, negotiations were entered into, which ended in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in April, 1748, which, after eight years' fighting with France and Spain, left England in exactly the same position as she had been in before. One thing alone was gained, the expulsion of the Young Pretender from France. Thenceforth he wandered about Europe, contracting evil habits, and alienating his few remaining supporters by his debased habits of intoxication and debauchery. His brother, Henry, became a cardinal of the Church of Rome.

In Scotland measures were being taken for the pacification of the Highlands, some of them judicious, some of more doubtful character. A disarming act was passed in 1748, and the national dress was forbidden to be worn; but whatever objections might be raised to these measures, that which abolished the hereditary jurisdiction of the chiefs of the clans was decidedly for the national good. One hundred and fifty thousand pounds were spent in buying up the local jurisdictions of the chiefs, which were handed over to the Sheriffs' Court; and thus a power both dangerous to the state and oppressive to the people was quietly and honourably abolished. Though the nation as a mass was at first pleased at the peace, the ministry felt themselves abased and degraded, and Pelham openly acknowledged in Parliament, that England ought to think herself very lucky to have made such good terms as she had secured. This spirit of humiliation soon spread itself to the nation, and lastly through the remaining years of the Pelham administration, until Pitt pushed himself to the front and raised the country to a height of honour and power which it had never reached before. Meanwhile, some important reforms were carried out, serving to strengthen the nation and fit it for its coming greatness. The first of the reductions of interest of the National Debt was carried out much to the surprise of many foreign nations, who could not understand how the credit of the country should be so good that people would sooner consent to a reduction of interest than be paid off altogether. The beneficial result of this was shown in the next few years. In 1749, the funded debt was £71,000,000 and the interest nearly £3,000,000. In 1759 the debt was £89,000,000, and the interest still only £3,000,000. There were some very unjust laws made in this reign against combination of labourers to raise the price of work. The struggle between labour and capital was one which had been going on for centuries, the law generally siding with the masters. The workmen were not allowed to combine against their employers, but they were bound down by strict Act of Parliament to accept particular rates of wages for particular hours of work. This abuse was not taken in hand till late in the present century, and even now it has not been effectually remedied. Over-population is the cause of the misery of the working classes nowadays, and mere legislation is not competent to deal with the evil. In 1750, too, there cropped up one of those many questions of privilege which not many years afterwards served to provoke the people into such anger at the conduct of their representation in Parliament that it very nearly grew into a revolution. Mr. Murray was accused of illegal proceedings at an

election, and, on being summoned before the House, refused to kneel to the Speaker :



CLIFFS NEAR DOVER.

he was consequently, greatly to the popular indignation, thrown into Newgate.

At this time the long-needed reform of the Calendar was carried out. Most other European states had adopted the Gregorian Calendar in 1582, which began the year on the 1st January, instead of the 25th of March; and also dated its days according to the reformed calculation. But insular pride, and perhaps jealousy of anything emanating from the papacy, had kept us eleven days behindhand. The change was effected in 1751, by Lord Chesterfield, assisted by Lord Macclesfield. There could be no objection to commencing the year on January 1st, because even before this, as a partial deference to other countries, all dates between the old and the new New Year's Day had been given with the double numerals of the two different styles. But the popular prejudice was strong against the entire elision of the eleven days which was necessary to bring us into step with other nations. There was a sort of idea with the commonality that eleven days of work,

or even of their lives, had been taken away from them; and though the change was ultimately effected, "Give us back our eleven days!" was for long afterwards a constant election cry.

Frederick, Prince of Wales, died on the 25th of March: a good thing for the nation, for it in a great measure broke up the parliamentary opposition at the time, and for the future took away the risk that had long seemed imminent—the government of the realm, in case of the Prince's accession, by pure favouritism. An Act of Regency was passed, nominating the Princess Dowager guardian of and Regent for her son till he became eighteen, with a council to advise her, consisting of the Duke of Cumberland and nine officers of state. In this same

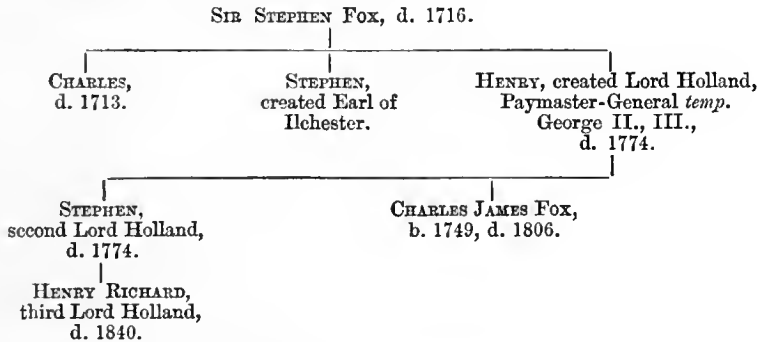


LONDON AT NIGHT. TIME OF GEORGE II.

year, Newcastle got rid of the Duke of Bedford from his ministry, who had been hampering his schemes by taking a more active part in politics than Newcastle desired. In 1752 an Act was passed "for preventing thefts and robberies, and the better regulation of places of entertainment," the two things going very much together; for of late years a great many disorderly houses had sprung up, which were frequented by the lowest of characters, and yet which the highest of the land did not think it beneath them to frequent. In truth, the morality of society in general was at that time at a very low ebb, but no improvement could really be effected by enacting laws. The best chance lay in the enlightenment of the people themselves. Gaming was rife amongst all classes: gin-drinking seemed to be steadily on the increase, and, as it was the fashion to attend all the executions of highwaymen and other malefactors, criminals seemed to be regarded

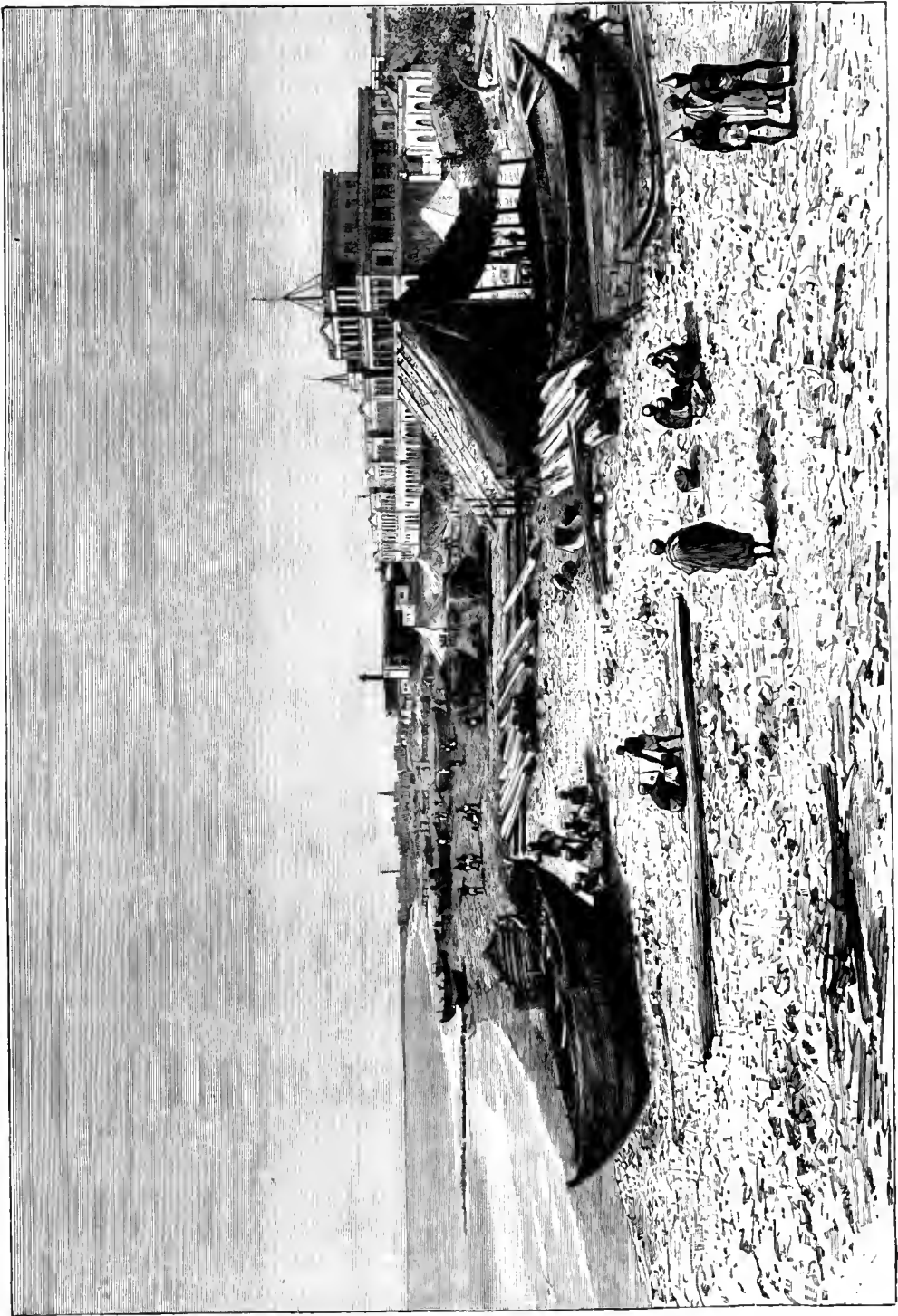
rather as heroes than as offenders against law and society. Two Acts were passed in the year 1753, both of which proved to be very unpopular. Indeed the first, for the naturalization of the Jews, met with so much opposition—ostensibly because it was contrary to the ordinance of God, but really because it was feared that it would be detrimental to English labour, that it had to be repealed in the following year. The other was the Marriage Act, which established the system of marriage by banns or by licence, instead of in the casual fashion in which it had been celebrated before. Some supposed that such restrictions would serve as a check on marriage and lead to much immorality; but, on the contrary, they have put the relations of conjugal life on a much firmer footing, and helped in a great measure towards the raising of society from the low state into which it had fallen. Mr. Pelham died on March 6, 1754, and was succeeded as Prime Minister by his brother the Duke of Newcastle, who thus attained the summit of his ambition. If experience went for anything, he ought to have been a good minister, for he had been in the government since 1724. But it seemed to have produced

GENEALOGY OF THE FOX FAMILY.



in him nothing but an insatiable thirst for power, to gratify which he would humiliate himself to almost any extent, short of actually making his rivals stronger than himself. He was not distinguished as an orator, and he required a practised speaker to lead the Commons for him. He first tried Fox, but could not agree to let him know how the money used for conciliating members had been used. Fox complained that without this knowledge he could not know how to beat this or that number, and so declined the leadership. Pitt was next tried, but he scorned the corrupt system by which Newcastle desired to control parliament; and at last the Prime Minister was forced to hand the seals of Secretary of State to Sir Thomas Robinson, a dull diplomatist and a poor speaker, but whom he could rely upon as being pliable to his wishes. Pelham's Parliament had come to an end, from the natural causes of the Septennial Act, shortly after his death, and a new one met in the next November. Pitt was still Paymaster, and Fox Secretary at War. They were both indignant at having such a man as Robinson put over them. Pitt opened a violent attack on the whole system of Parliamentary corrup-

tion in a discussion over an election petition, which the House at first had seemed



MADRAS.—VIEW TAKEN FROM THE PIER BEFORE THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE HARBOUR.

inclined rather to laugh at than to take seriously. Fox supported him, and





MAJAPRAHAY



C. Geyser

T. Alderson

In 1759, a matter of importance

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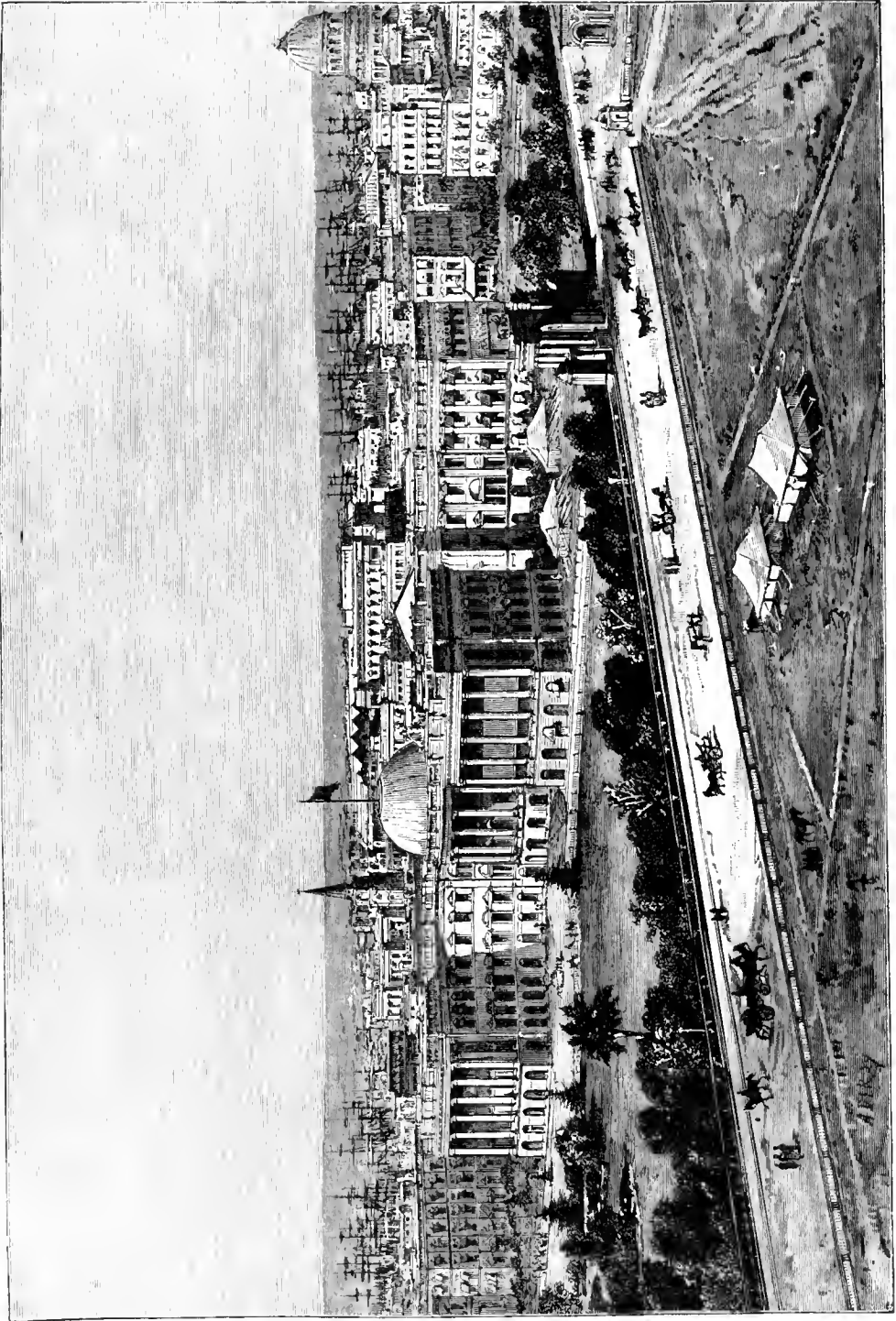


Newcastle felt that his power would be shaken if a reaction should take place against its great mainstay, bribery. He appeased Fox with a seat in the Cabinet, but Pitt remained his bitter foe.

In 1755, foreign events were taking a shape that made firm government a matter of importance. Both in India and America disputes had arisen with the French over boundaries and the rights of commerce, which made it necessary to take precautions to prevent England from being ousted from her possessions in those two quarters of the world. In India, it is true, things were looked upon as concerning a private company rather than a nation, but as what happened there was really of national importance, they cannot now be set aside as they then were to follow their own course.

The East India Company, which had been established definitely in 1702, had since become more and more powerful, both abroad and at home, building up its power in India on the decay of the Mogul Empire, and obtaining influence at home by its large loans to the Government. Its chief factories were at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. But there was also a French East India Company, and during the whole period of the late war the two companies had been carrying on active hostilities of their own in the East, in which the advantage was much to the side of the French. They took Madras in 1746, and when a treaty had been made for its restoration to the English, Dupleix, one of the French governors, being angry at his colleague's action, which was adverse to his own scheme of driving the English out of India, refused to ratify the treaty. In revenge, an English army was sent to besiege Dupleix' headquarters, Pondicherry; but nothing was effected, and by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Madras was quietly restored to its former owners. But though the two companies were outwardly at peace, they carried on their enmity under pretence of giving aid in the differences of the native Princes. There were two pretenders to the thrones of the Deccan and the Carnatic. Dupleix helped them both, and as a reward was made governor under the Mogul of the whole of the Eastern coast. Had not a saviour arisen at that moment, the English East India Company would have been swept away, and the English Empire of India would never have existed. Clive was the name of the saviour. He had gone to India as a clerk, but had taken a post in the Company's army, and at the time of Dupleix' triumph, held the rank of captain. He it was who conceived the idea of seizing Arcot, where the pretender to the Carnatic had established himself, thus diverting the attention of Dupleix from the siege of Trichinopoly, where the rightful sovereign was shut up. A large army was sent against him; he withstood their siege, and the army dispersed: then he defeated Rajah Sahib, the chief of the Indian forces opposed to him, at the battle of Arnee; and afterwards, in conjunction with Lawrence, he raised the siege of Trichinopoly. Dupleix was superseded by his government at home, and an agreement was entered into between France and England for a suspension of hostilities, and for non-interference in the natives' disputes. Clive was loaded with honours by the Company and given a commission in the English army, as well as the Governorship of Fort St. David. In America, Canada, then in possession of

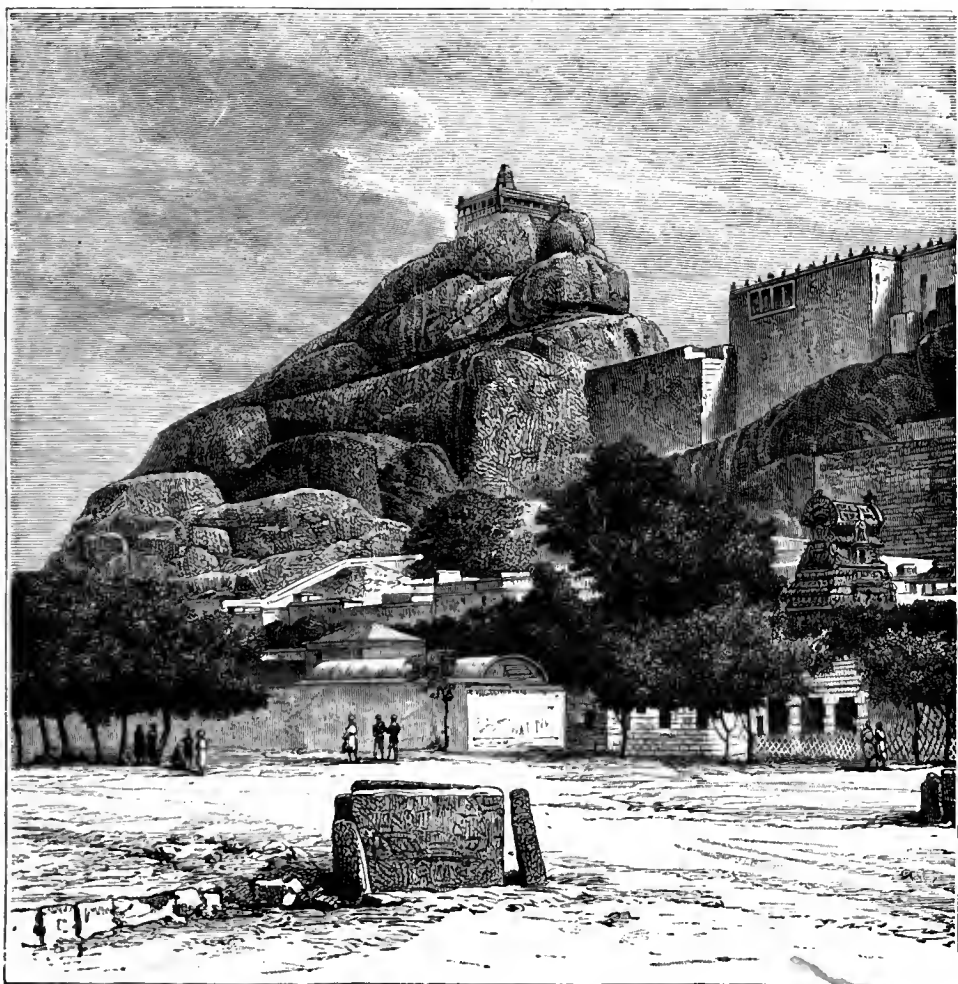
France, was a great cause of apprehension to the British Colonists in that part of



CALCUTTA.—VIEW TAKEN FROM THE ESPLANADE.

the continent which has now developed into the United States. Bartering with

the Indians was the chief form of commerce then carried on in America, and in this the French were always trying to outdo the English, not hesitating, at the same time, to attempt to encroach on the territory where the descendants of the old Puritan settlers had established themselves to carry on less precarious occupation than the mere trading in skins. George Washington made his first appearance about this time, when, in 1753, as a major in the Virginian militia and commissioner



ROCK OF TRICHINOPOLY.—VIEW TAKEN FROM THE EAST.

for the British Colonies, he was sent to negotiate with the French for a settlement of some of the disputes in question. He met with no success, and the next year was sent to occupy the British posts on the Ohio, but was driven out by the French. The disputes were discussed officially in Paris: but discussions were not sufficient for those who were already half at war, and in 1755 General Braddock was sent out with a body of English troops, in answer to an appeal from the Virginians. He despised his enemies, but found out his mistake when he was

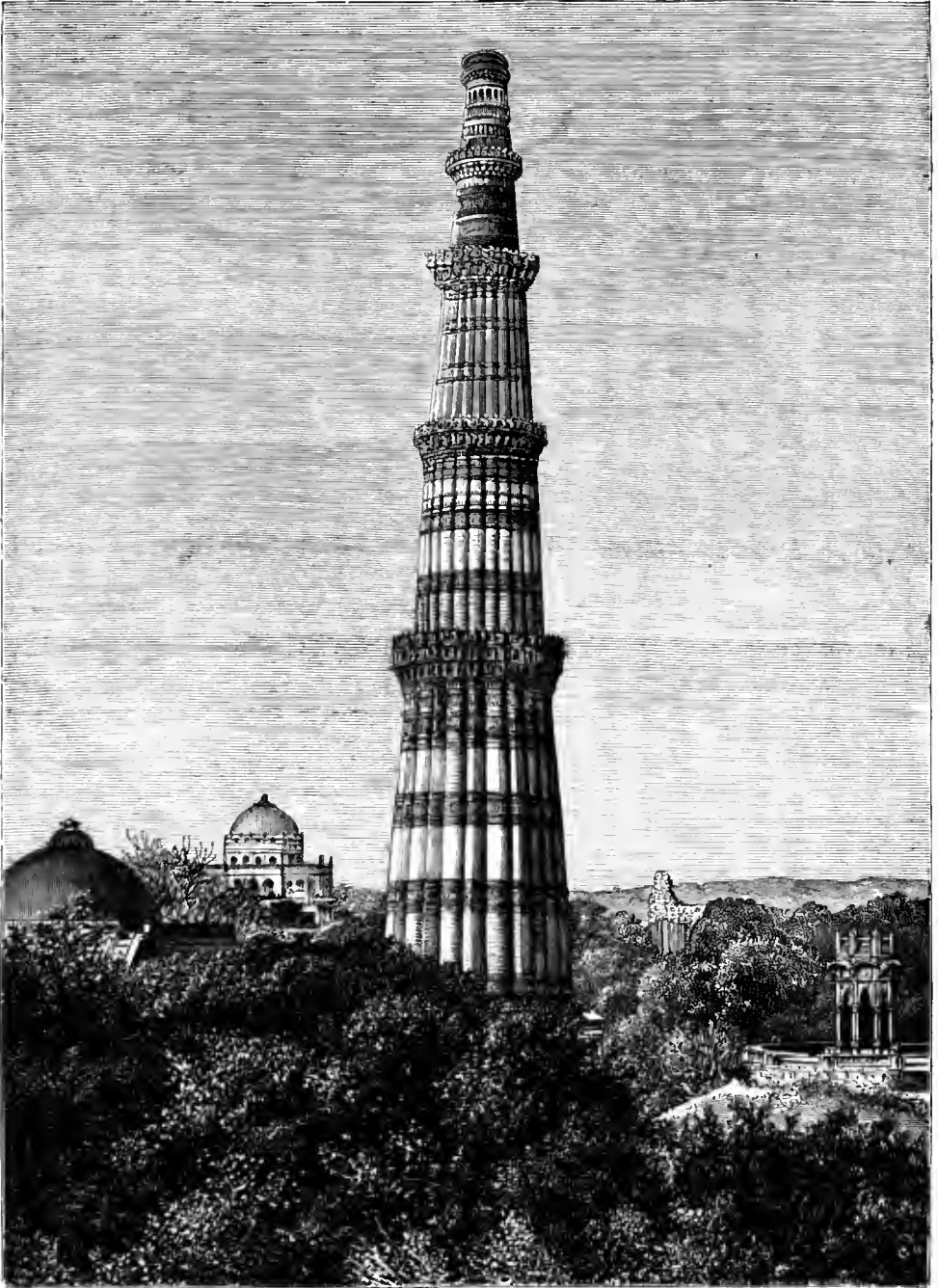
brought into contact with them. Unused to the tactics of the Indian allies of the French, he fell into an ambuscade near Fort Duquesne, and lost his life, half his troops barely escaping, and the other half being mercilessly cut to pieces by their savage enemies. Meanwhile the navies of the two nations had more than once encountered each other on the high seas: but the ministry were still afraid to declare open war, and thus matters dragged on, when a decisive blow might have brought them to a satisfactory termination.

The King had virtually left the care of British national interests to his Regency while he was abroad, trying to fence round his Hanoverian dominions by subsidising other powers. Prussia was now his most prominent foe, and to meet that danger, he proposed to take Russia into his pay, as well as the Elector of Hesse and other smaller potentates. Without the consent of his Parliament he signed a treaty for a large payment by England to Hesse, and sent this treaty home. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Legge, refused to pay the money. The Duke of Newcastle asked Pitt for his aid in obtaining it. But Pitt was proof even against the offer of a Secretaryship of State. He disapproved of all such subsidies on principle. Fox was tempted by the promise of office, but Pitt remained obdurate. The debate on this subject took place on November 13, 1755: in the Lords, Pitt's brother-in-law, Lord Temple, moved an amendment against the resolution in favour of the support of the electorate of Hanover; and in the Commons Pitt moved the same, commenting severely and sarcastically at the same time on the new coalition between Fox and Newcastle. The resolution was carried, and next day Fox received the seals of Secretary of State. Pitt was dismissed from his office of Paymaster, and Legge was also superseded. But a fortnight later, Pitt, in a speech from his place in Parliament, roused all the energies of the nation which pessimists had ceased to believe in; and by an appeal to the old spirit of the English race, did more than anyone or anything else to stimulate the desire of the people to enlist in the army. There was now a dread of a French invasion, and the servile ministry were thanking the king for flooding the country with Hessian and Hanoverian troops for its defence. Pitt upheld the doctrine that a nation which considered itself a sovereign state should stand by itself, and in response the common people flocked in crowds to the rallying points of the recruiting sergeants.

The first outset of hostilities, in 1756, proved unfortunate for the English. The French had long been threatening Minorca, which the English had held since the reign of Queen Anne. It was looked upon as of more importance even than Gibraltar. But though the ministry had had ample information of the danger, they put off sending help to the governor till too late, and when at last they did send out a fleet under Admiral Byng, he either felt that he was not being properly supported at home, or else was really afraid to attack the French. At any rate, he retired to Gibraltar, and Minorca fell into the hands of the French. Great was the indignation against Byng. Admiral Hunter was sent out to supersede him, and he returned home to be tried by court-martial. Such was the cowardice of the ministry, that Newcastle, in his anxiety to free himself



and his colleagues from all blame, virtually promised Byng's execution before he



ENVIRONS OF DELHI.—TOWER OF KUTAB.

was tried. Both the trial and execution of this unfortunate scapegoat took place on the quarterdeck of his own flag-ship in the spring of the following year.

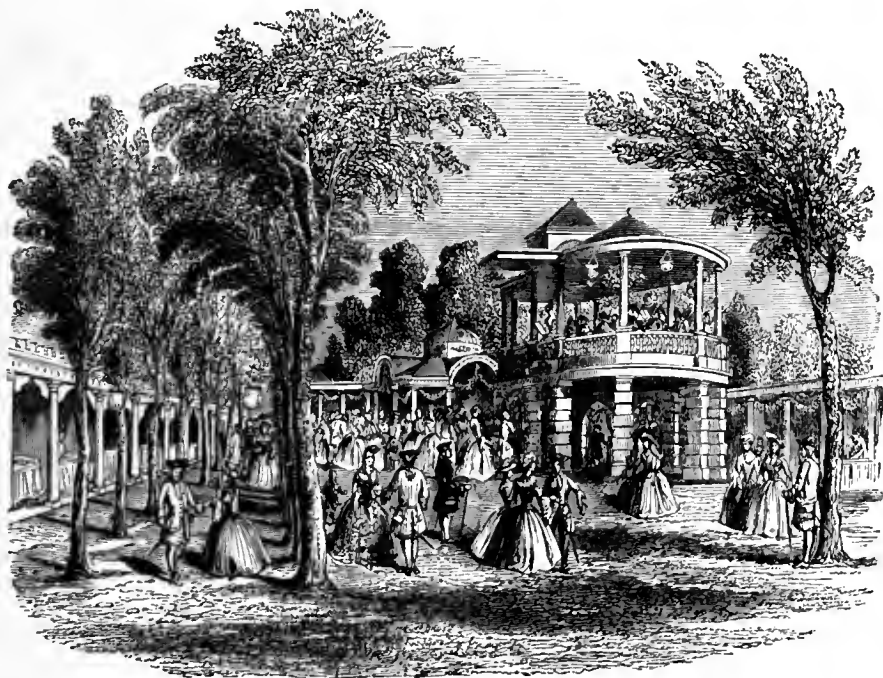
At the end of the first session of 1756, in May, the King announced that he had at last formally declared war against France. There had been an important change of sides in the Continental struggle since the last war. George had never liked Frederick of Prussia, who had often irritated him by his withering sarcasms: but their joint danger from France drove them into a defensive alliance, which put the idea of subsidizing Russia out of the question. Maria Theresa of Austria was still hankering after her lost province of Silesia, and for revenge on Prussia. She accepted the offer of alliance with France, and Russia was soon added to the coalition. Frederick knew of the conspiracy against him, and resolved to anticipate the movements of his enemies. His first blow was struck against the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, the most feeble of his antagonists, really rather the tool of the others than their willing accomplice. Frederick captured Dresden and with it the papers proving the designs that had been meditated against him, which he published for the information of Europe. By defeating the Austrians at Lobositz he secured Saxony; the Saxon army surrendered and the elector retired to Warsaw.

In October, 1756, Fox, finding that he was getting a larger share of obloquy for his position in the ministry than was compensated for by the power which it gave him, resigned his Secretaryship, and Newcastle, unable to find anyone to take his place, at last resigned also. A coalition was proposed between Pitt and Fox, which the former however would not agree to; and at last, in November, the Duke of Devonshire was made First Commissioner of the Treasury, with Pitt Secretary of State, and Temple and Legge also in the ministry. A change immediately came over the whole system of policy. The electoral troops were sent home, and a Militia bill was passed, under which 32,000 men were to be called out in England and Wales. The regular army had been increased to 45,000 men, and a most politic proceeding was the enlisting of the old Highland rebels in the service of the state. Reinforcements were sent out to the Earl of Loudoun in America. As war minister of the King, Pitt was forced to modify some of his former views: he saw that the French intended to revenge themselves on George for the measures he had taken in America by attacking him in Hanover, and voted a grant of £200,000 to enable the King to defend his Hanoverian dominions and fulfil his engagements with the King of Prussia. But the King, nevertheless, could not bear Pitt. At the beginning of 1757, he, Temple, and Legge were suddenly dismissed, while Newcastle was again sent for and entreated to form a ministry. Newcastle could do nothing without Pitt, and Pitt saw that he could do nothing without Newcastle and his solid block of votes to back him. Endless intrigues and negotiations went on, and at last, strange as it may seem, and furious as was the King at the result, Newcastle and Pitt coalesced. But Pitt was won over on his own terms, and though Newcastle was First Lord of the Treasury, the administration was really that of Mr. Pitt.

Meanwhile there had been trouble again in India. In 1756 Surajah Dowlah, Nabob of Bengal, had captured the British factory at Calcutta, induced thereto by the hope of obtaining the fabulous wealth that he believed to have been

accumulated by the East India Company. Not finding what he expected, he ordered all whom he found in the factory, 145 in all, to be shut up for the night in a dungeon eighteen feet by fourteen, and there left without food and almost without air to suffer and to struggle till it was the tyrant's pleasure to wake and order them to be released. "The Black Hole of Calcutta" stands prominent amongst the cruelties that Eastern despots are capable of perpetrating. Twenty-three were all who came out alive from that den of horrors. Of these Mr. Holwell, who had been the chief officer left at Calcutta by the Company, and two others, were retained as prisoners; the rest were released. The factory was occupied by a Mahomedan force.

Clive was sent by the Company to demand satisfaction for this outrage at the



VAUXHALL IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE II.

head of an English army, and Surajah Dowlah, terrified, begged for peace, and consented to every condition imposed upon him by the English; amongst others, that he would assist in drawing out the French from their station of Chundernagore. But no sooner was this done, than he turned against his new allies, and conspired with the French in their turn. Clive resolved on his destruction, and encouraged a conspiracy against him, set on foot by his general, Meer Jaffir. He then marched against Surajah's capital and found his army drawn up in overwhelming numbers at the village of Plassy. Many of the English officers voted for a delay, but Clive, in spite of his inferior force, determined to give battle. On June 24, 1757, the battle was fought. It was another case of a few well-handled troops being brought into contact with the unwieldy masses of the East,

and Surajah Dowlah, utterly defeated, only escaped from the field to be murdered in his palace by Meer Jaffir. That worthy was placed on his late master's throne and large concessions were made by him to the Presidency of Calcutta. Without the battle of Plassy the English would never have been masters of Bengal, nor subsequently of India.

At home Pitt was now actively progressing in his triumphant career. All the high offices had been given to his own friends, not so much because they were his friends, as because he knew he could depend on them to act in concert with him for the good of the nation. He himself undertook the whole conduct of the war and foreign affairs, undismayed at the disastrous course which events were taking in the contest abroad. Frederick was indeed in a poor plight. His enemies had proved too many for him, and after vainly endeavouring to take Prague, by way of inflicting the first blow on the Austrians, was at last compelled by the defeat of Kolin to raise the siege and march out of Bohemia. Pitt determined to divert the attention of the French from Germany by an attack on their west coast, and a fleet under Hawke, with an army under Mordaunt, were sent to attack Rochefort.

Dissensions, however, arose between the Admiral and the General, and the armament returned home without having done anything. Meanwhile, the Duke of Cumberland had given up all hope of further defending Hanover, and had agreed, by the treaty of Closter Seven, to disband his troops. The King was angry, and so were the people, who believed that all these disasters were the result of court intrigues. To add to Pitt's difficulties riots now took place against the Militia Act, as an idea had sprung up in some parts of the country that those who were enrolled in the militia were liable to be taken to serve in the army abroad. Still Pitt held on and hoped; he had immense faith in the indomitable patience and skill of Frederick, and his faith was rewarded. On November 5, 1757, at Rosbach, and on December 5 at Leuthen, Frederick inflicted two such crushing blows on his enemies that the whole aspect of affairs was changed, and there was no need for the King of England to ratify the disgraceful Convention of Closter Seven. Great was the rejoicing of the English nation. "I believe," wrote one, "the people begin to think that Prussia is part of Old England." A subsidy was voted by acclamation in Parliament, and the votes for supplies amounted to £10,000,000. Pitt had still a few difficulties to surmount, in the way of destroying the system by which parliamentary connections influenced the choice of naval and military commanders, but he gradually overcame them all. The result was soon apparent. Though the English armies met with some reverses on the coasts of France and of West Africa, in America the new commander, General Amherst, with Wolfe under him, retook Cape Breton from the French, and captured the much-coveted fort of Duquesne, the original cause of the war.

The year 1759 was one of the most memorable in the military and naval annals of Britain. At the battle of Minden, Ferdinand, Prince of Brunswick, at the head of a combined army of Hanoverians and English, defeated the French and saved the Electorate of Hanover from the inevitable destruction which seemed to be

awaiting it. The English navy blockaded Brest, and on August 17 Admiral Boscawen defeated the French fleet in the Bay of Lagos. Amherst had been



THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE.

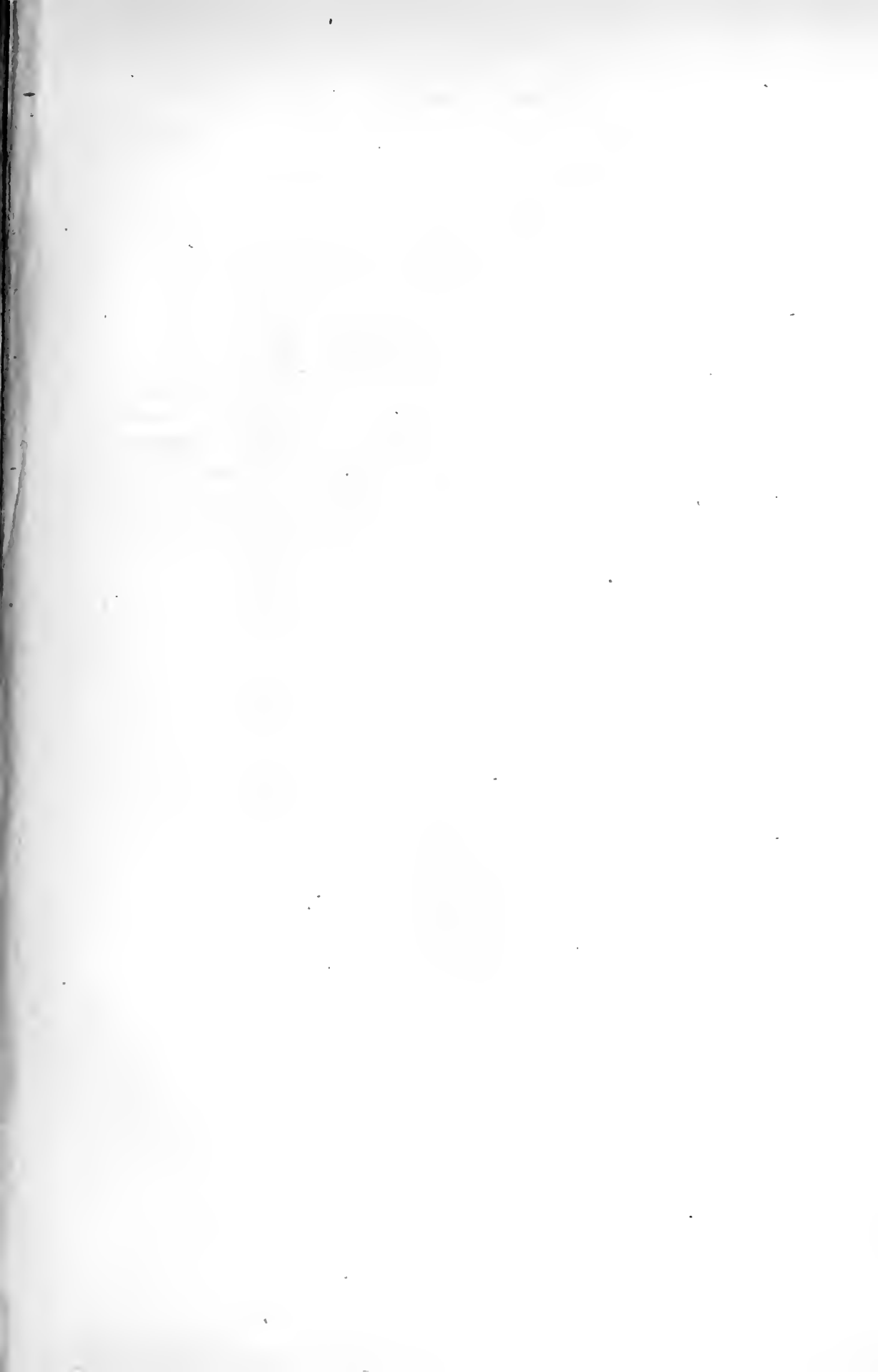
pushing on towards Canada, and had captured the powerful fortress of Ticonderoga, while Wolfe had sailed from England for the St. Lawrence to attack the

French General Montcalm, who had encamped himself near Quebec. The venture was a desperate one, for Montcalm's position on the Heights of Abraham, near Quebec, seemed impregnable; but in spite of all difficulties Wolfe landed his troops and drew them up in line before Montcalm could believe that he had effected his purpose. The battle took place on September 13; it was sharply contested. Both Wolfe and Montcalm fell, but the English remained masters of the field and Quebec capitulated five days later.

Peace was talked of when the next session opened on the 13th of November, but supplies were nevertheless voted to enforce the English successes, and granted without hesitation. While Pitt was eulogizing the prowess of the British commanders, there came the news of another victory, gained by Admiral Hawke over the French in Quiberon Bay. Frederick, although he had met with less success than his allies in this year's campaign, still persevered, and fought on through another year, during which he gained the victories of Liegnitz and Torgau.

The war went on during 1760 without much to interest or excite the English people, who only had to vote supplies in full confidence that they were now being well used in maintaining the conquests so bravely won. On October 25, George II. died suddenly.







GEORGE IV.





DIAGRAM OF MARSHALLING OF  
SHIELD OF GEORGE III, ON  
JAN. 1, 1761.

His reign of George III. After the troubles and  
many centuries, we had  
three was thoroughly an  
and was not affected by any faction  
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acted, and his conception  
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subdue every man's narrow will.

power for mischief was only limited by his want of political ability.  
The explanation probable is, that he possessed a temper which was  
indisposed to any compromise. He was a man of a high and  
unyielding principle, and he was not a man of a high and  
unyielding principle. He was a man of a high and unyielding  
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principle. He was a man of a high and unyielding principle,  
and he was not a man of a high and unyielding principle.  
There is an essential difference between party and faction.  
A party is a collection of men bound together by the ties of political  
sympathy and by the sympathy of common opinions with regard to the government.  
A faction is a mere collection of men united by personal con-  
siderations, and it is commanded to obey the will of its personal  
leader. The Whigs and the Tories were discovered by the  
discovery of the Whigs and the Tories, which  
into which the Whigs and the Tories were  
the Whigs and the Tories were derived from the Whigs and the Tories,  
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## CHAPTER IX.

### GEORGE III.

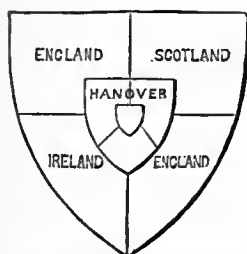


DIAGRAM OF MARSHALLING OF SHIELD OF GEORGE III., ON JAN. 1, 1801.

THE reign of George III. begins a new epoch in English history. After the troubles and dissensions which had extended over many centuries, we had now upon the throne a monarch who was thoroughly an Englishman, and whose title was not disputed by any faction worthy of attention. The principles by which he was actuated, and his conception of the royal office, have been often misunderstood. He has been described as a wrong-headed and stubborn despot, who desired to subdue everything to his own narrow will, and whose

power for mischief was only limited by his want of natural ability. The true explanation probably is, that he possessed a larger amount of patriotism and industry than most of his ministers. At his succession the state of English politics was most unsatisfactory. The Tories, entirely discredited by their Jacobite tendencies, had been excluded from office during the reigns of the first two Georges. The Whigs, in the absence of an opposition, were divided into factions. There is an essential difference between party and faction. A party is a collection of men bound together by the ties of political principle, and by the sympathy of common opinions with regard to the government of the state. A faction is a mere connection held together by personal considerations, obeying the command or dominated by the prestige of a personal leader. It would be difficult to discover the differences of principle which distinguished the various sections into which the Whigs were divided. The Bedford Whigs, the Rockingham Whigs, and the Grenville Whigs, can lay claims to no other denomination but that which they derived from their chiefs. The two first Georges were ignorant of the English language and of English government. They were accepted by the nation as a necessary evil. They excited no enthusiasm and little respect. Under their weak rule faction had every opportunity of developing. Public spirit was low, industry rare, public life was grossly corrupt. George III. determined to put an end to this. He desired in his own

person to set an example of purity, high principle, and devotion to the public interest. If he looked back on a long line of predecessors, he saw no monarch of England who had acquired distinction who had not impressed his own will on the fortunes of his country. It was necessary that he should begin by breaking down the aristocratic factions, who held the crown in subjection and managed the country for their own advantage. His next step would be to assert the authority of a sovereign. It took George III. more than twenty years to effect his object, and during that time he made many mistakes; but it must be remembered by those who accuse him of endless intrigue and overwhelming egotism, that when William



CORONATION OF GEORGE III.—THE ENTHRONIZATION AND DOING HOMAGE.

Pitt became Prime Minister at the age of twenty-four, and remained in office for seventeen years, he had no reason to complain of the disloyalty of his sovereign. Whatever was the form of George III.'s early despotism, it finally resulted in a constitutional monarchy of the modern type. It is only fair to conclude that the King either foresaw the result from the first, or welcomed it when it came. Anyone who has studied the documentary evidence of the period must admit that the King always brought to the conduct of public affairs full knowledge, unflinching industry, and spotless integrity.

It was a misfortune that the King's policy required for its first step the

dismissal of Chatham and the advance of Bute. Bute's chief qualification was undoubtedly his personal attachment to the King; but George soon discovered that he had not the qualities for a Prime Minister, and that he would never be acceptable to the people at large. Notwithstanding the denunciations of Burke, there can be no doubt that Bute once dismissed was never afterwards received into confidence, and that the complaints of a double cabinet and of a power behind the throne had no foundation of fact.

Parliament was dissolved in March, 1761, and shortly afterwards Lord Bute was made Secretary of State, as a colleague to Chatham, who was not consulted about the change. The policy of the new Government was to put an end to the war,



REVIEW OF VOLUNTEERS BY GEORGE III. AT HOUNSLOW.

but this would necessitate the desertion of Prussia. The cause of Frederick the Great was now in a declining state, and France was anticipating an ally which would give her greater weight in the European conflict. The struggle of Louis XIV. to place a member of his family on the throne of Spain was now beginning to bear fruit. A close alliance, or, as it was called, a family compact, between the two branches of the House of Bourbon, was no new idea. Traces of earlier compacts have recently been discovered, but the name *par excellence* is given to that which was concluded in August, 1761, between Charles III. and Louis XV. By this instrument France and Spain entered into a perpetual alliance for mutual defence, and guaranteed for their respective dominions. Peace and war were to be made by common consent. None but princes of the House of Bourbon were to

be admitted to the alliance, and, by a special convention, Spain undertook to declare war against Great Britain, on May 1, 1762, if peace had not been concluded before that date. A clause in the compact showed that the alliance was specially directed against Great Britain.

Pitt received early notice of these negotiations, and he determined to anticipate the enemy by a bold stroke. The Spanish treasure-ships were to be intercepted on their journey from South America. The Isthmus of Panama was to be occupied, and, above all, the possessions of the Spanish Crown in South America were to be seized by English arms. It is difficult to exaggerate the effect which this bold step would have produced. The subjection of the Spanish Main to England would have anticipated the liberation of those rich portions of the world for more than half a century, and might have resulted in spreading English civilisation over the southern half of the American continent. But the course suggested was too bold for the new monarch and his advisers. On October 2, 1761, a cabinet council was held to settle the matter finally. Pitt said that this was now the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon; that if this opportunity were allowed to slip, no other would be found. The several branches of that house, if suffered to gather strength, would baffle the most vigorous efforts of England, and might perhaps plunge us in the gulf of ruin. "We must not allow them a moment to breathe. Self-preservation," he said, "demanded that we should crush them before they could combine or recollect themselves." To this it was replied that we had no evidence that Spain meant war, that we had too many wars on our hands, and that we must at least wait. On this Pitt declared that he could no longer sit at the council board if those views were to prevail; that he had been called to the administration of affairs by the voice of the people; that he had always considered himself as accountable to them for his conduct; and that he could not remain responsible for measures which he was no longer allowed to guide. The next day Pitt resigned. He was offered as a valuable sinecure the Governorship of Canada with £5,000 a year, and an exemption from residence. This he refused, but he consented to accept a provision for his wife and family. She was created Baroness Chatham in her own right, and a pension of £3,000 a year was conferred upon the minister.

This change produced the very opposite effect to what had been intended. The court of Spain assumed a haughty tone. When the plate-ships had safely arrived in harbour, and there was nothing to be gained by delay, war was declared against Great Britain. Pitt's reputation rose higher than ever. The successes which England was able to obtain were due to the preparations made by Pitt. Martinico was taken shortly after the declaration of hostilities. This was followed by the surrender of Grenada, Santa Lucia, and St. Vincent; and, above all, the important town of Havannah, in Cuba, surrendered on August 12, 1762.

Portugal also had been summoned to join the two Bourbon parties. The court of Lisbon called upon England to assist them. Lord Tyrawley was sent out with six thousand troops. The French and Spaniards invaded Portugal in three divisions, but they were driven back, and, in September, Spain was obliged to suffer the loss of Manilla and the Philippine Islands.

In the same year a great change took place in the fortunes of Frederick the Great. Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, who had been his inveterate enemy, died, and was succeeded by her nephew, Peter III. He was a passionate admirer of Frederick, as his successor Paul afterwards proved to be of Napolcon. He abandoned the Austrian alliance, and placed his troops at the disposal of Prussia. For this and other reasons, Bute determined to discontinue the English subsidy, and Newcastle took the opportunity of resigning his office. Although he was nominally Prime Minister, he had not for some time been consulted on any question of policy. Pitt had, indeed, asked his opinion as a matter of form, but the patronage of the Government alone had been committed to his charge. This he had been deprived of by Bute, and no course was left open to him but to resign. Nothing in his public life became him like the leaving of it. He had reduced his own income from £25,000 to £6,000 a year; yet he refused to receive a pension. He was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Bute.

Before the victories of Spain were reported in England, Bute had made overtures for peace, and it had been unfortunately arranged that any conquests made by England should be unconditionally surrendered. This naturally caused strong opposition, and the surrender of Havannah so much endangered the chances of peace that Spain was induced to give up Florida in exchange. The preliminaries were signed at Fontainebleau, in November, 1762. They were opposed by Pitt in Parliament, but were passed, and the Peace of Paris was finally concluded on February 10th, 1763. The treaty made no mention of Austria or Prussia, but was a separate arrangement between England and France. The principal articles were as follows: the King of France surrendered Nova Scotia, otherwise called Acadia, Canada, and the island of Cap-Breton to England; the exercise of the Catholic religion being guaranteed to the inhabitants. England gave up to France the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, on the coast of Newfoundland, for the purpose of the cod-fishery. We also surrendered Guadeloupe, Mariegalante, Desirade, Martinique, and Belleisle. France also surrendered to England the island of Grenada, while, in the partition of the neutral islands, St. Vincent, Dominica, and



ST. JAMES'S PALACE GATE.

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Tobago went to England, and Santa Lucia to France. On the coast of Africa England gave up to France the island of Goree, and received Senegal, with Fort San Luis. In the East Indies England surrendered her conquests, so that France was put back again in the position which she occupied in 1749. France restored the island of Minorca to England. As we have before said, England surrendered Havannah to Spain, in return for which Spain gave up Florida and all her possessions in North America, to the east and south-east of the Mississippi. In return for this France agreed to surrender what remained to her of Louisiana, but this arrangement was not carried out till 1769. Thus, although England did not obtain all she might have expected, she received very substantial advantages.

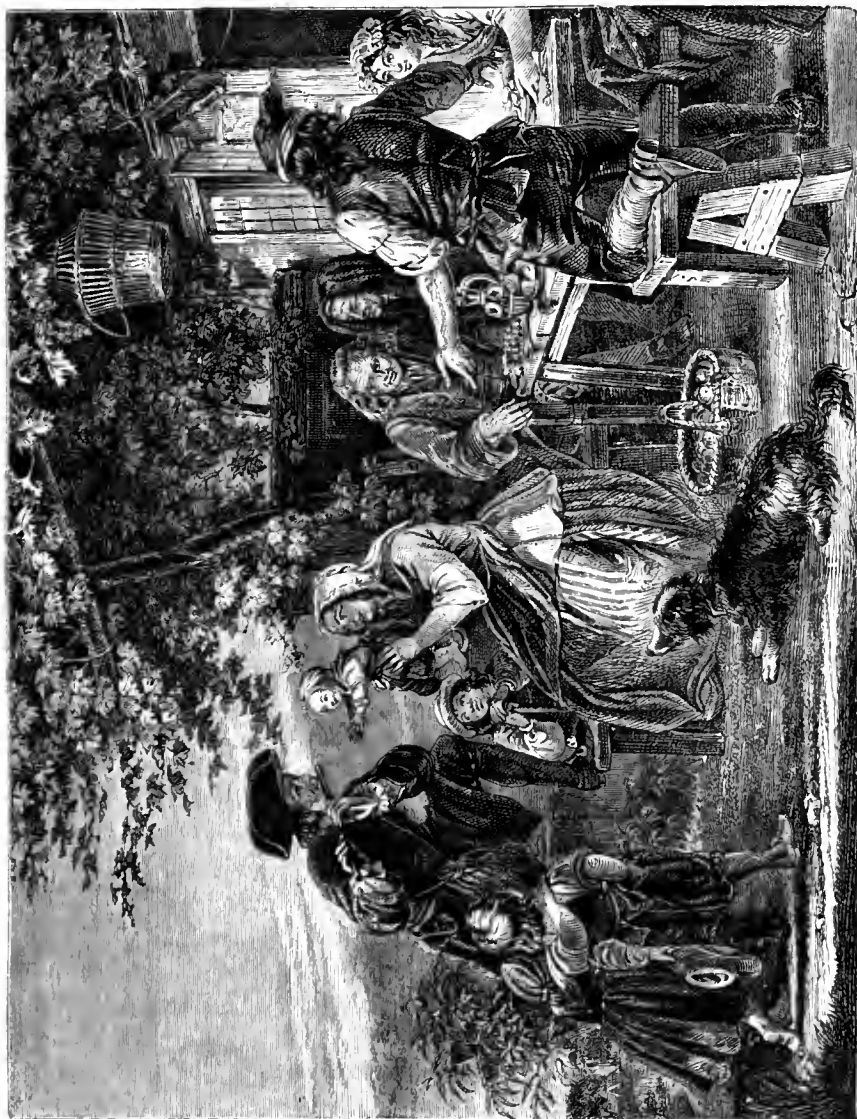
The European war was finally put an end to by the Peace of Hubertsburg, between Prussia, Austria, and Saxony. The result of the war on the continent was to establish Prussia as a great power in Europe, and to lay the foundations for her future supremacy in Germany. Frederick the Great, on coming to the throne in 1740, had announced, in unmistakable language, that a power had to be reckoned with in central Europe, Protestant, liberal, and progressive. The policy thus began did not attain its full fruition until the proclamation of the new German Empire, at Versailles, in 1870.

We must now turn to domestic affairs. Under the new Prime Minister the Government became gradually Tory. Sir Francis Dashwood was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, partly because he was a Tory and had been a Jacobite. The Whigs were represented by the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Devonshire, George Grenville, who was Secretary of State, and Henry Fox, who derived a large income from the perquisites of the pay office. Bute aroused still further resentment by the promotion of Scotchmen to places in the army, the navy, and the public offices. George III., on meeting his first Parliament, had said: "Born and bred in this country, I glory in the name of Britain;" an expression afterwards corrupted to Briton. A newspaper called the *Briton* was established, to which Wilkes replied by a counter-sheet entitled *North Briton*. This was directed against Bute, who found himself the meeting-place for many converging streams of unpopularity. Hatred against the Prime Minister was soon transformed into hatred of the peace. The Duke of Bedford, who had signed the treaty, was hooted through the streets, and Bute himself was attacked in his sedan-chair. The peace could only be carried through Parliament by putting great pressure upon members; bribery was largely used, and those who could not be bribed were intimidated. Lord-lieutenants were dismissed from their offices; all opponents to the peace were removed, even to the lowest officials. By these means the preliminaries of peace were approved of, and the Princess, on hearing of the victory, exclaimed "Now, indeed, my son is King." Shortly after this, Bute, terrified at his unpopularity, and feeling himself quite unable to conduct the ordinary business of government, suddenly resigned his office, and was succeeded by George Grenville as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

At the time of Bute's resignation forty-four numbers of the *North Briton* had been published. Number forty-five appeared on April 23rd, 1763; it commented



upon the King's speech at the prorogation of Parliament, and upon the unpopularity of the peace. It was at once declared to be an audacious libel, and an insult to the King himself. As a fact, it attacked the Minister rather than the King, recognising the constitutional theory of ministerial responsibility which regarded the royal speech as the composition rather of the minister than of the sovereign. It was



GOLDSMITH AS A WANDERING MUSICIAN.

resolved that Wilkes should be severely punished, not like ordinary libellers by process of law, but by all the powers of the State which could be brought to bear upon him. A general warrant was issued for the authors, printers, and publishers, giving power to apprehend and seize them together with their papers. No one was named in this instrument. The offence only was pointed at, not the offender

The magistrate ordered his messengers, armed with this roving commission, to set forth in quest of unknown offenders. Unable to take evidence, they listened to rumours, idle tales and curious guesses. In three days they arrested no less than forty-nine persons on suspicion; among these were Kearsley, the publisher, and Balfe, the printer of the obnoxious number, with all their workmen. From them it was discovered that Wilkes was the culprit, of whom they were in search, and they sent to arrest him. Wilkes declared the document a ridiculous warrant against the whole English nation, and refused to obey it. He was, however, obliged to appear before the Secretaries of State. As soon as he was gone his drawers were ransacked, and all his private papers carried off, including his will and his pocket-



THE THAMES GIBBETS. (AFTER HOGAETH.)

book. Refusing to answer the questions put to him, he was committed a prisoner to the Tower, and treated with great severity. He determined to strain every nerve to test the legality of the general warrant, and enabled the journeymen printers to bring an action against the messengers who had arrested them. Lord Chief Justice Pratt held that the general warrant was illegal, and that it was illegally executed, and that the messengers were not indemnified by statute. Wilkes himself brought an action against Wood, the Under-Secretary of State, who had personally superintended the execution of the warrant and had taken away Wilke's papers and private documents. The Lord Chief Justice declared that if such a power was vested in the Secretary of State, and he can delegate this power, it may affect the person and property of every man in the kingdom, and is totally subversive of the liberty of the subject. Wilkes obtained a verdict with £1,000 damages. This judgment was confirmed on appeal, and in 1769 Wilkes recovered no less than £4,000 damages from Lord Halifax himself.

At this time negotiations were opened with Pitt to form a coalition with Grenville, but without success. However, the Duke of Bedford was found more compliant. He was appointed President of the Council, in succession to Lord Grenville, better known as Lord Carteret. For this reason the administration is sometimes known as the Bedford Ministry.

When Parliament opened on November 15th, 1763, attention was at once called to the affair of Wilkes. The House of Commons voted that the *North Briton*, No. 45, was a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, and ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They then declared that the privilege of Parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels, and ought not to be allowed to obstruct the ordinary course of law. When the libel was burnt, the populace took part with Wilkes. They rescued part of the paper from the flames, and carried it in triumph to Temple Bar. Here they made another bonfire, and burnt a jackboot and a petticoat. The persecution of Wilkes did not end here. He had been ordered to

attend to his place in the House, but could not do so, because he had been wounded in a duel. Tired of continual persecution, he withdrew to Paris. During his absence he was expelled from Parliament. The House of Lords determined not to be outstripped by the Commons. On the first day of the session, Lord Sandwich brought a complaint about an "Essay on Woman," a parody of Pope's "Essay on Man."



THE HOOP. (AFTER HOGARTH.)

Only thirteen copies had been printed in Wilkes's private printing press, and there was no evidence of publication. A proof copy of the work had been obtained by the treachery of one of the printers. The pretext for their procedure was that the name of Bishop Warburton, a member of their House, appeared in the notes. Thus it became, they said, a breach of privilege. Much disgust was excited by the conduct of Lord Sandwich, whose morals were no better than those of Wilkes. At a performance of the "Beggars' Opera," the audience at once recognised the application of Macheath's words, "That Jemmy Twitcher should peach me, I own surprises me." After this Lord Sandwich was never known by any other name than that of "Jemmy Twitcher."

Just at this time a step was taken which produced quite unexpected consequences. Heavy burdens had been imposed upon the nation by the late war, and, among other expedients for raising money, it was proposed to tax the American Colonies. An Act imposing customs duties was passed, and notice was given of a Stamp Act, which was introduced in the following year.

The imposition of customs duties was not resented by the Colonies, who had

been used to restriction upon their trade; but they determined to oppose the Stamp Act, as being an inland duty; and they asserted the principle which Magna Charter had declared to be the birthright of every Englishman, that they should not be taxed without their consent. They claimed that the proposition should be laid before the Colonies in the usual manner, by a letter written by the Secretary of State in the King's name. Benjamin Franklin, who represented Pennsylvania in London, was especially charged to lay their views before the English Government. Their remonstrances were unheeded. George Grenville introduced his Bill in 1762, and stated in his speech that it was only one step towards further taxation of the colonies. The question only excited a languid interest in the House of Commons. There was a short debate and a division, but the Bill was passed by a large majority. This Act provided that no wills, contracts, or legal documents

were to be valid in the colonies without a stamp. The proposal was not a new one, and had been urged on Pitt during the pressure of the Seven Years' War. Seeing the conflicts which were likely to ensue from it, he declined to admit such an expedient. The preamble of the Act stated that the Imperial Legislature had authority to levy taxes on any part of the Empire, the Colonies included.

Just at this time the King began to show the first symptom of the madness which, at a later period, cast such a cloud over his reign. His eldest son was only two years old, and it became necessary to make provision for the Government in case of a minority. The King claimed to have the power of creating a Regency

himself, but Grenville feared that he would certainly in this case nominate his mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales. He therefore insisted that the Bill should confine the Regency to members of the Royal Family, by which means his mother's name would be excluded. When the measure came before the House of Lords, a doubt was expressed as to whether the term Royal Family included the Princess or not. It therefore became necessary to name the particular persons who were capable of becoming Regent in the Bill. Lord Halifax assured the King that if his mother's name were inserted the Commons would strike it out. The very opposite, however, proved to be the case; and a private member of the Lower House, moving the insertion of the Princess's name, it was carried by a large majority, with the object of spiting Grenville. This was not only a defeat for the Ministry, but it greatly irritated the King against them. He commissioned the



STOW'S MONUMENT, IN THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW'S UNDERSHAFT, CORNHILL.

Duke of Cumberland to appeal to Pitt. In these days, however, of family connections, Pitt did not feel himself at liberty to take office without the co-operation of Lord Temple, his brother-in-law; and Temple could not be persuaded to do anything which might appear hostile to his brother, George Grenville. The negotiations, therefore, fell to the ground, and the King was forced, as he was on other occasions at a later period, to go back to the Ministers whom he had wished to get rid of. They, however, made a bad use of their return to power. They exacted a promise from the King that he would never again employ Lord Bute; they obliged him to dismiss Lord Bute's brother from a post in Scotland, and they read the King a long remonstrance, in which they upbraided him with bad faith. This forced the King to make another appeal to Pitt, but Temple was as impracticable as ever. It was, indeed, clearly shown that the Whig families were the



THE TABARD ABOUT 1780, FROM A DRAWING.

masters of the throne, and that the King had but little independence while they remained in power. The King was forced to appeal to the Opposition, who were, it is true, Whigs, but who had more independent political principle than their rivals. Lord Rockingham was induced to take office, and he gathered around a brilliant array of names. The Duke of Grafton and General Conway were made Secretaries of State, the Duke of Newcastle was Privy Seal, but the moving spirit of the Ministry was Edmund Burke.

Lord Rockingham, the new Prime Minister, was a young nobleman of high character and large fortune. He had been chiefly remarkable for his love of horse-racing, and he was selected by the Whigs as their leader partly on account of his property and connections, and partly from his conciliatory manners and high character. The great writer, Burke, was his private secretary, and his account of Lord Rockingham's administration has probably given it more credit than it deserves. Still, this administration carried several measures of great

importance. It obtained from Parliament a formal condemnation of general warrants. It restored the officers who had been deprived of their military rank for their votes in Parliament to their posts. It negotiated a commercial treaty

with Russia. It took measures to relax the commercial restrictions which caused ill-feeling between England and the Colonies, and by repealing the Stamp Act it averted for a time the struggle with America. All this was done within the space of a year and twenty days, in the face of great opposition, and without corrupt practices.



HORACE WALPOLE.

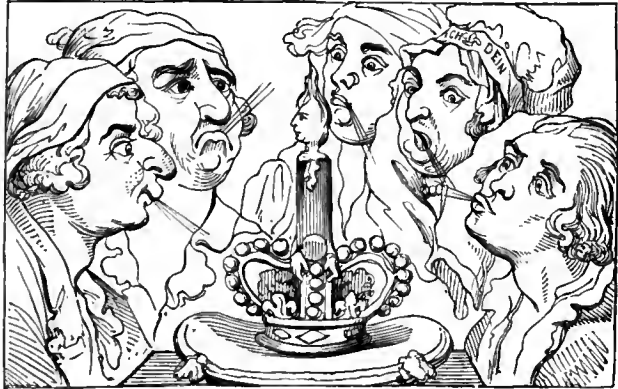
Parliament met on December 17, 1765. The Opposition, led by Grenville and Bedford, strenuously urged that no relaxation or indulgence should be granted to the colonists. The policy of taxing America had been deliberately affirmed in two separate sessions, and if Parliament now suffered itself to be defied, its authority

would be at an end for ever. It was urged that the different parts of the Empire were chiefly held together by the supreme authority of Parliament, of which the right of taxation was an essential part. It was the duty of the Legislature to determine in what proportions the different parts of the Empire should contribute to the defence of the whole. The conduct of the Colonies, it was said, admitted of no excuse or palliation. The right of taxation had been established by a long series of authorities, and there was no real distinction between internal and external taxes. The Americans described themselves as apostles of liberty, and denounced England as an oppressor. The fact was that England governed her Colonies more liberally than any other country in the world. In fact, they were the only Colonies which enjoyed real political liberty. The resistance to the tax was of a character far from respectable. Private houses and custom-houses had been plundered, and the mob's violence had gone unpunished. Merchants had refused to pay their private debts in order to obtain political ends. It would be dangerous to establish the precedent that the best way of inducing Parliament to repeal an obnoxious tax was to refuse to pay it.



LINK BOY.

These arguments were overwhelmed by the stormy eloquence of Pitt, whose speeches on this subject are to be reckoned among the sacred foundations of any Liberal creed. He said: "It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the Colonies. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The Commons of America have always been in possession of their constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it." "I rejoice," he said again, "that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. In such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man with his arms round the pillars of the constitution. The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness which you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will tell the House what is really my opinion. It is that the Stamp Act should be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately; that the reason for the repeal should be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country



THE FARTHING RUSHLIGHT.

over the Colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever: that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent."

The Ministers had great difficulty in dealing with this question. Some members of the Government were strongly in favour of taxing America. It was argued that if they withdrew allegiance we must withdraw protection, and then Genoa or Sweden might overrun the Colonies. The King was also bitterly hostile to the repeal, and told his friends that they might vote as they pleased. The hint was taken, and the King's friends were among the most active opponents to the Ministers.

The policy of the Ministers consisted of two parts. They asserted in the strongest and most unrestricted form the sovereignty of the Legislature, first by resolutions, and then by a Declaratory Act, affirming the right of Parliament to make laws for the Colonies in all cases whatsoever. At the same time they brought

in a Bill repealing the Stamp Act on the ground of expediency. It had, they said, produced evils far outweighing any benefits that could flow from it. The debates on this subject were among the fiercest and longest ever known in Parliament. The former Ministers opposed the repeal at every stage. Nearly a dozen members of the King's household, and nearly all the bishops, voted against the Ministry. The measure was, however, carried amid the strongest expressions of public joy. Burke tells us that it caused more universal joy throughout the British dominions than, perhaps, any other event that can be remembered. It is now somewhat difficult to defend the Declaratory Act, but the country was very indignant with the Americans, and Franklin said that the resolutions of right would give the Americans little concern if they were never attempted to be carried into practice.

The effect in America was quite satisfactory. All discontent was allayed, and the storm was succeeded by an entire calm.

Rockingham naturally tried to strengthen the Ministry which had shown such unmistakable signs of weakness. He did everything in his power to draw Pitt to his side, but he entirely failed. Pitt openly declared in Parliament that although the character of the new Ministers was good, he could not give them his confidence, and he asserted what was apparently entirely without foundation, that Lord Bute was exercising a controlling influence over their councils.

The repeal of the Stamp Act was followed by other measures intended to conciliate the colonists. Their commerce was freed from many needless restrictions to which it had been subjected by the late Government. Dominica and Jamaica were made free ports; and the trade in bullion and cattle with the Spanish colonies, which had been suppressed as contraband, was restored. Besides this, the tax on cider was modified. The im-



FROM A DRAWING BY GAINSBOROUGH.

portation of foreign silks was restrained for the benefit of the Spitalfields weavers, and in reference to the case of Wilkes two resolutions were passed by the House of Commons, one of which declared general warrants illegal, and the other denounced the seizure of papers in cases of libel. This Ministry has also never been charged with influencing the House of Commons by bribery. It fell, however, from its inherent weakness. In May, 1766, the Duke of Grafton gave it its deathblow by resigning his post. He said that he had no objection to the persons or the measures of the Ministers, but he thought they wanted strength and sufficiency to carry on proper matters with success, and that Pitt alone could give them solidity. In July, the Chancellor, Lord Northington, who had constantly thwarted and opposed his colleagues in the Cabinet, openly revolted, and informed the King that the Ministry



could not go on. The Ministers were dismissed, and on July 7th, 1766, the King again sent for Pitt.

The new Ministry was formed of politicians drawn from the most opposite quarters and of the most opposite antecedents. The King's friends mustered strongly in the lower offices, and they also held several posts of great importance. Lord Northington became President of the Council, with a pension of four thousand a-year. Charles Townshend was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, although it was no secret that he was in favour of taxing America. Lord North and George Cooke became joint Paymasters of the Forces, although they had never spoken to each other in their lives. Camden was made Lord Chancellor, who had expressed the most popular opinions in the case of Wilkes and of America. Conway, who had been the chief instrument in the repeal of the Stamp Act, retained the office of Secretary of State, which he had held under Rockingham. On the other hand, Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barre, who had always opposed American taxation, both joined the Ministry. Pitt ought to have been Prime Minister, but he refused it chiefly on the ground of ill-health, and contented himself with the almost sinecure office of Privy Seal. This obliged him to go into the House of Lords, which he entered with the title of Earl of Chatham. The Duke of Grafton took the place which ought to have belonged to Pitt. His claims chiefly rested on his great social position, considerable fluency and eloquence, and unbounded devotion to Pitt; but he was very indolent in business, was passionately fond of field sports, and did not possess either the character or the powers of work which were necessary in the head of the Government. Burke gives us an interesting account of this strange Government. He says that Chatham "made an administration, so checkered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery, so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, King's friends and republicans; Whigs and Tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was, indeed, a very curious show; but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on. The colleagues whom he had assorted at the same boards stared at each other, and were obliged to ask: 'Sir, your name?—Sir, you have the advantage of me—Mr. Such-a-one—I beg a thousand pardons.' I venture to say, it did so happen that persons had a single office divided between them who had never spoken to each other in their lives,



LADY HARRINGTON. (SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.)

until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle-bed."

Unfortunately, Pitt's acceptance of a peerage ruined his popularity. The city refused to present him with an address which they had prepared. It had been intended to illuminate the Monument in memory of his return to office, but the lamps were removed. Although Rockingham allowed his friends to join Chatham's Ministry, he refused to hold any intercourse with him. The difficulties of the new Ministry were increased by the general distress. The harvest had been bad, and the price of corn been very high. Bread riots took place in every part of England, and the gaols were filled with prisoners. It became necessary to prohibit the exportation of corn, which caused great discontent. The Ministry, deprived of Chatham's aid, was defeated in the Commons. The popularity of the great commoner had evidently waned. The Opposition continually abused him,

and no friend was found to take his part. The state of affairs in Europe was very serious, and Chatham proposed an alliance with Frederick the Great against the House of Bourbon, but he was too much occupied with his designs against Poland to accept the offer. He also directed his attention to the affairs of the East India Company, intending to anticipate by nearly a century the transfer of the Indian Government from the Company to the Crown. But before this could be carried out, his health seriously gave way. During the autumn and the spring he remained at Bath, and was able to keep up some correspondence with his colleagues. But immediately on his return



EARL CAMDEN. (FROM A PAINTING BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.)

to London, his mind became gravely disordered. He treated everyone with whom he came into contact with ungovernable arrogance; he resented the slightest opposition with unbridled fury; he plunged into the most extravagant expenses; he covered a barren hill with cedars and cypresses at an enormous cost; he had a constant succession of chickens boiling and roasting all day in his kitchen that he might gratify his appetite at any moment; he sold his house at Hayes and bought it back again at a great loss. At last he fell into deep dejection. He sat all day leaning on his hand, allowed no one to remain in the room, and gave his orders by signal, without speaking a word. This state of things continued for two years. In vain did the King beg for an interview, or urge him to see Grafton, if only for five minutes. Lady Chatham was compelled to answer that the state of his health was such that the King could not expect from him the slightest assistance. He was utterly incapable of the smallest effort.

Just at this time, on May 13th, 1767, Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought in a series of measures of which Chatham would never have approved, and which eventually led to the loss of the Colonies. By the first of these, the legislative functions of the Assembly of New York were suspended. By the second, a Board of Customs was established in America. By the third, the



DR. JOHNSON AND GOLDSMITH.

proposal of taxing America was resumed. He intended to raise a revenue by a duty imposed on glass, red and white lead, painters' colours, paper, and tea imported into the Colonies. The last article was to be charged threepence in the pound. The revenue expected from these duties was estimated at less than forty thousand pounds. It was to be employed in giving a civil list to the Crown, out

of which judges were to be employed in America, and if there was any surplus, it was to defray any expense in protecting the Colonies. Townshend apparently expected that these proposals would meet with no opposition in America. Massachusetts took the lead in the movement, and she soon carried the other provinces with her. Agreements, binding all the inhabitants to abstain from all English manufactures, spread from colony to colony. A petition was drawn up to the King, and addresses presented to the English supporters of the American cause. It was impossible to enforce the Revenue Acts without British troops, and the riots were totally unpunished, for no jury would convict the rioters. Strange to say, on September 4th, 1767, the author of all this mischief suddenly died, at the age of forty-two. Townsend seems to have made a great impression upon his contemporaries, although his name is for us connected with nothing but disaster. Burke says of him, "He was the delight and ornament of this House, and the charm of



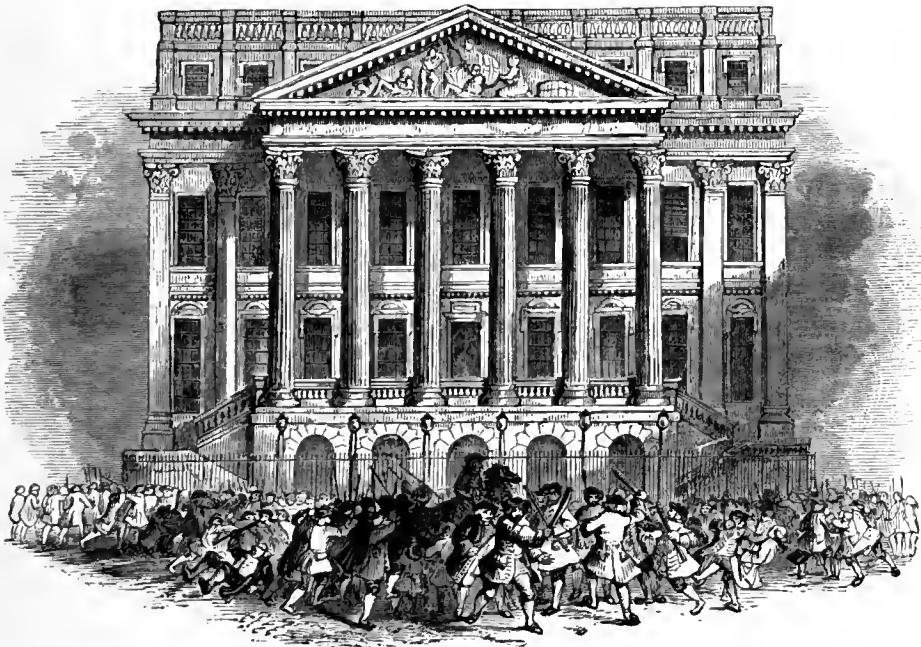
AFTER SIR J. REYNOLDS.

every private society which he honoured with his presence. Perhaps there never arose in this country, nor in any country, a man of a more pointed and finished wit, and (where his passions were not concerned) of a more refined, exquisite, and penetrating judgment. If he had not as great a stock as some have had who flourished formerly, of knowledge long treasured up, he knew better by far than any man I ever was acquainted with how to bring together within a short time all that was necessary to establish, to illustrate, and to decorate that side of the question which he supported. He stated his matter skilfully and powerfully. He particularly excelled in a most luminous explanation and display of his subject. His style of argument was neither trite and vulgar, nor subtle and abstruse. He hit the

House just between wind and water; and, not being troubled with too anxious a zeal for any matter in question, he was never more tedious or more earnest than the preconceived opinions and present temper of his hearers required, to whom he was always in perfect unison. He conformed exactly to the temper of the House; and he seemed to guide because he was always sure to follow it."

On Townshend's death, Lord North succeeded to his post. The growing importance of American business made it necessary to appoint a Secretary to the Colonies, and the office was given to Lord Hillsborough, a Tory. The Parliament was dissolved on March 11th, 1768. In the meantime the discontent in America was steadily increasing. The Assembly of Virginia was dissolved, as that of Massachusetts had been, and in the course of a few months a similar step was taken in Maryland, Georgia, North Carolina, and New York. Constant collisions took place at Boston with the custom-house officers. Two regiments, escorted by seven ships of war, were sent to Boston to support the Government. Shortly

before their arrival a large meeting was summoned, and a vote was passed that a standing army could not be kept in a province without its consent. A circular letter, drawn up by Samuel Adams, was sent to all the Colonies calling them to combine against the English Government. A sloop, named *Liberty*, belonging to Hancock, a leading merchant of the patriot party, arrived at Boston on June 17th, 1768, laden with wines from Madeira, and a custom-house officer went on board to inspect the cargo. He was seized by the crew and detained for several hours while the cargo was landed, and a few pipes of wine were entered on oath at the custom-house as if they had been the whole. On the liberation of the officer the vessel was seized for false entry, and in order to prevent the possibility of a rescue it was removed from the wharf under the guns of a man-of-war. A



THE WILKES RIOTS AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

great riot followed, and the custom-house officers were obliged to fly to a ship of war, and afterwards to the barracks, for protection. In September, 1768, when it became known that the troops and ships of war were coming from Halifax, a meeting of the inhabitants was immediately summoned, and a resolution was unanimously passed that each citizen should provide himself with arms according to law. As the Governor refused to call an Assembly it was resolved to summon the towns to send delegates, or committee-men, as they were termed, to a convention. Elections were held for this purpose, and the members assembled on September 22nd, in the Faneuil Hall, Boston. They drew up a petition to the Crown, and dispersed after six days. On the very day of their dissolution the ships of war from Halifax cast anchor in the port, and seven hundred troops

landed and marched into the town with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets. Shortly after this, General Gage, commander-in-chief of the North American station, arrived with reinforcements, and before Christmas Boston was garrisoned by an army of four thousand men. The mutterings of the storm were heard, and the only statesman who could allay it was sick and incapable.

The general election of 1768 brought the name of Wilkes once more into public notice. Defeated for the City of London, he was returned at the head of the poll for Middlesex. The Ministry were embarrassed and did not know what to do. It would have been best for them if they could have let Wilkes alone, but the King was determined to use the whole power of Government in expelling him. Wilkes was at this time an outlaw, and he appeared before Lord Mansfield to

plead his cause. After being imprisoned for six weeks, his outlawry was declared to be illegal on June 8th, and he became a full British subject. He was still under sentence for seditious libel and blasphemy, and he was now ordered to be imprisoned for twenty-two months, to be fined a thousand pounds, and to give security of good behaviour for seven years. This was followed by serious riots. At the opening of the Middlesex election the mob took possession of every avenue leading to the place of voting, and would allow no one to pass who did not wear a blue cockade with the name of Wilkes and the number 45. The windows of the Mansion House were broken; the houses of the aristocracy were attacked; ladies were dragged out of their sedan chairs and compelled to shout for Wilkes and liberty. The Austrian Ambassador was torn from his coach and "45" chalked on the soles of his shoes. The same inscription was to be found at intervals all the way from London to Winchester. When

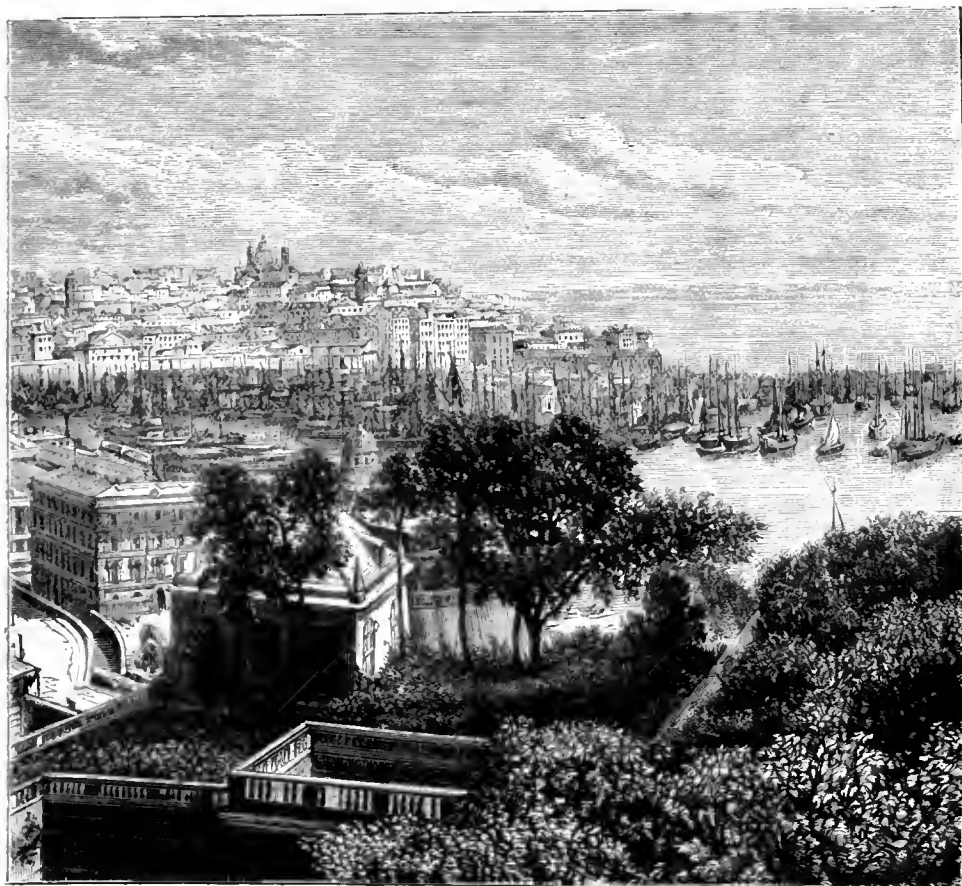


AFTER GAINSBOROUGH.

Wilkes was first committed to prison he was rescued on Westminster Bridge, and had great difficulty in escaping from the hands of his protectors. The worst riots took place in St. George's Fields, in the neighbourhood of the prison in which Wilkes was confined. The soldiers were assailed with stones and brickbats; the troops fired, five or six persons were killed, and fifteen wounded. The most important of the victims was William Allen, a young man of blameless character.

In December, 1768, whilst Wilkes was in prison, Cooke, the other member for Middlesex, died. Sergeant Glynn, who had recently distinguished himself as the defender of Wilkes, was proposed as the popular candidate, and in spite of all the efforts of the Court and of the Ministry he won the seat. The election was accom-

panied by severe riots. Wilkes, although in prison, did not remain quiet. He wrote a letter to the *St. James's Chronicle*, charging the Ministry with having deliberately planned and determined upon the massacre in St. George's Fields. The letter was brought before the House of Commons, and Wilkes not only acknowledged the authorship but said that he was only sorry that he had not expressed himself in stronger terms. At last the House of Commons, on February 3rd, 1769, on the motion of Lord Barrington, expelled him from Parliament, on the ground of three offences: the forty-fifth number of the *North Briton*—the "Essay



VIEW OF GENOA.

on Woman," and his letter on the massacre. This foolish step was strongly opposed by George Grenville, who did not, however, succeed in persuading the House. The result was that Wilkes, in less than a fortnight, was re-elected for Middlesex, and on the following day the House declared by an overwhelming majority that he was incapable of sitting in that Parliament. There is no doubt that this measure was illegal. The House of Commons had a perfect right to expel any member from their body, but they had no right to disqualify him from being re-elected. On March 16th, Wilkes was again elected unanimously, but the

election was declared void on the following day. Colonel Luttrell, a young officer of the Guards, was then persuaded to stand against Wilkes. He was beaten by 1,143 votes against 296. The election of Wilkes was again declared void by the House of Commons, and Luttrell was announced as duly elected. The ease was again argued in the House on May 8th, and the following day the King closed the session.

The unpopularity of the Government was considerably increased by its loss of *prestige* in Europe. A war had broken out between Turkey and Russia, and the republic of Genoa, being unable to suppress a revolt of the Corsicans under Paoli, sold the island to France, a circumstance which resulted in Napoleon Bonaparte being born a French subject. About the same time the question of the Falkland Islands nearly produced a war between Spain and England. In 1765, Lord Egmont instructed Captain Byron to take possession of the Falkland Islands in the name of the King of England, and in the succeeding year a garrison was established and a small fort erected. The matter seems to have been at first unnoticed, but in 1769 the Spaniards demanded immediate abandonment of the island, and their demand being disregarded, they sent out a powerful expedition next year, detained a British frigate for twenty days, and expelled the British from the South Sea. This seemed to make war inevitable.

On July 7th, 1769, Lord Chatham, who had now recovered from his long illness, paid his respects at Court. After the levée he had an audience with the King, by whom he was received with great favour. He, however, assured the King that he was unable to support the Government. He spoke bitterly against their measures, especially about the proceedings against Wilkes, and he made no secret that he intended to oppose the Government as much as possible. Parliament reassembled on January 9th, 1770, and the Earl of Chatham appeared in his place. On the motion for the Address, he moved an amendment pledging the peers to take into consideration the prevailing discontent, and especially the proceedings of the House of Commons with regard to John Wilkes. Lord Camden, the Lord Chancellor, who ought to have defended his colleagues, joined in the attack. He said that he had for some time beheld with silent indignation the arbitrary measures of the Ministers; he had long drooped and hung down his head in council, and disapproved by his looks those steps which he was unable to prevent. He now proclaimed to the world that he entirely agreed with Lord Chatham. By their violent and tyrannical conduct Ministers had alienated the minds of the people from the Government. A spirit of discontent had spread into every corner of the kingdom, which might some day produce a revolution. The result of this was that Camden was dismissed about a week after his speech. It is strange that he did not think it his duty to resign, but was supported by Chatham in remaining at his post. Eleven days later the Duke of Grafton resigned his place as Prime Minister and retired into private life. Lord North, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, became his successor. It is probable that the cause of Grafton's resignation lay in the discussion about the import duties in the Colonies. The Duke of Grafton proposed to his colleagues that they should bring in a Bill for the



complete repeal of these duties. Some of the Cabinet were, however, for retaining the duty on tea, and Lord North gave his vote for this, in deference to the King, who said that there should be always one tax, to keep up the right.

At this time the Whigs were divided into four main sections—the Bedford Whigs, consisting of Lords Bedford, Gower, Sandwich, and Weymouth; the Rockingham Whigs, consisting of Lords Rockingham and Portland, the Dukes of Devonshire and Richmond, together with Burke and Conway; the Chatham Whigs, including Lords Shelburne and Camden, together with Dunning, Barré, and Beckford; and the Grenville party, to which Lord Temple, George Grenville, and Lord Lyttelton belonged.

The succession of Lord North to power was marked by a sad tragedy. Charles

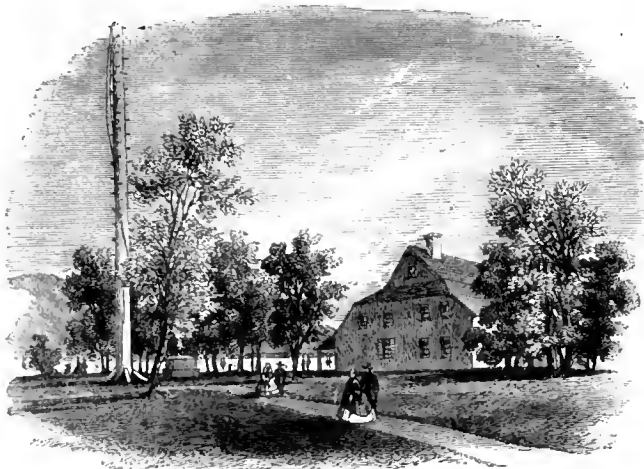


GENOVA AND ITS SUBURBS.

Yorke, brother of Lord Hardwicke, was a member of the Rockingham party. He had frequently been asked to join the Ministry, but had always refused. On this occasion, King George III. used all his influence to persuade him to support Lord North. His efforts were at first in vain. The next day after the levée, the King called him into the closet and renewed his entreaties. He begged him not to abandon his Sovereign in his distress, and he told him that if he now refused the seals they would never be offered him again; indeed, he compelled him to accept the post. Overcome with shame and remorse, he died, probably by his own hand. The patent creating him Lord Morden lay on the table, awaiting only the Great Seal. When asked to affix it he replied that he hoped it was no longer in his possession.

Notwithstanding the fact that Chatham, Rockingham, Grenville, and Temple were united in opposition, the Ministry obtained a large majority. Lord North was a man of tact, ability, and knowledge. He was supported by Lord Gower, Lord Sandwich, and Charles James Fox. It was one of those times when public opinion appeared to sleep after the keen excitement of party conflict. Burke complained that the people had fallen into a total indifference to any matters of public concern; and Junius, that anonymous pamphleteer, whose identity has never been discovered, said in his last letter to his publisher, "In the present state of things, if I were to write again I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. I meant to save the cause and the public. Both are given up. I feel for the honour of this country when I see that there are not ten men in it who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike, vile and contemptible."

In the meantime the discontent in America was increasing. The province of



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT NEWBURGH, ON THE HUDSON.

Virginia had not been visited by the Governor during the present generation, but now Lord Bottaert, successor to Sir Geoffrey Amherst, opened the House of Representatives with great pomp, and addressed the members in a set speech. This did not prevent them from passing resolutions in which they asserted the privilege of self-taxation,

and the right of concerting measures with the other Colonies for defending the liberties of all. The Governor immediately dissolved them, on May 17th, 1769. The next day the members assembled at the Raleigh Tavern, and in a room called the Apollo, formed themselves into an association pledging themselves not to import or purchase British merchandise until all the unconstitutional Revenue Acts were repealed. Among those who signed this paper were Patrick Henry, Peyton Randolph, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson. The example of Virginia was followed by Pennsylvania and Delaware. The Assembly of Massachusetts met again in May, 1769. Before proceeding to business they complained of the presence of naval and military forces, and asked the Governor, now Sir Francis Bernard, to order their removal. After a short time they were protogued, and the Governor was recalled to England, from which he never returned. His departure did not make matters better. When Lord Hillsborough wrote that all taxes would be removed except that on tea, the merchants of Boston

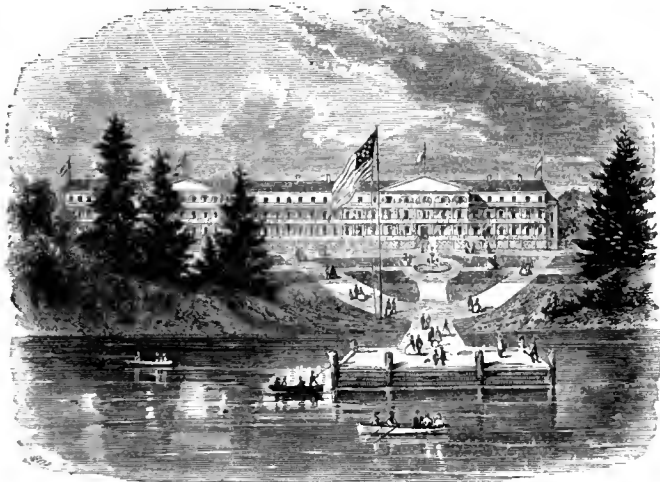
met and declared that this was insufficient. They formed an association called the "Sons of Liberty." They resolved to order no more goods from Great Britain. Merchants who had such goods were not allowed to offer them for sale, and were in some instances compelled to return them. The names of those who refused to comply were published. All persons who gave aid and support to the Government were tarred and feathered. These excesses were naturally disapproved of by the supporters of the Americans in England, but similar exaggerations of popular feeling are always found in times of political excitement.

The Opposition continued their war against the Government. They brought forward a bill for reversing the resolution of the House of Commons in the case of Wilkes. They presented an address to the King, begging him to dissolve the Parliament, but they were defeated in both Houses. One measure, however, became law notwithstanding that it was introduced by the Opposition and was contested by the Ministers. This was the Act introduced by George Grenville

to try controverted elections. Originally these elections had been tried by select committees specially nominated, and afterwards by the Committee of Privileges and Elections. This latter committee was composed of Privy Councillors and eminent lawyers, well qualified by their learning for the judicial inquiries entrusted to them.

After 1672 it became an open committee; all the members of the House who came, were allowed to have a voice, and the consequence was that the merits of an election case, thus considered, were little regarded, and the decisions were made according to the bias of the political party which had the majority present. This flagitious custom formed part of the Parliamentary organisation by which the influence of the Crown was maintained. To remedy these evils, Grenville proposed to transfer the judicature in election cases from the House itself to a committee of thirteen members selected by the sitting members, and petitioners from a list of forty-nine, chosen by ballot, to whom each party should add a nominee to advocate their respective interests. This tribunal was to decide, without appeal, the merits of every controverted election. The Act was at first limited to one year; it was, however, continued from time to time, and in 1774 was made perpetual.

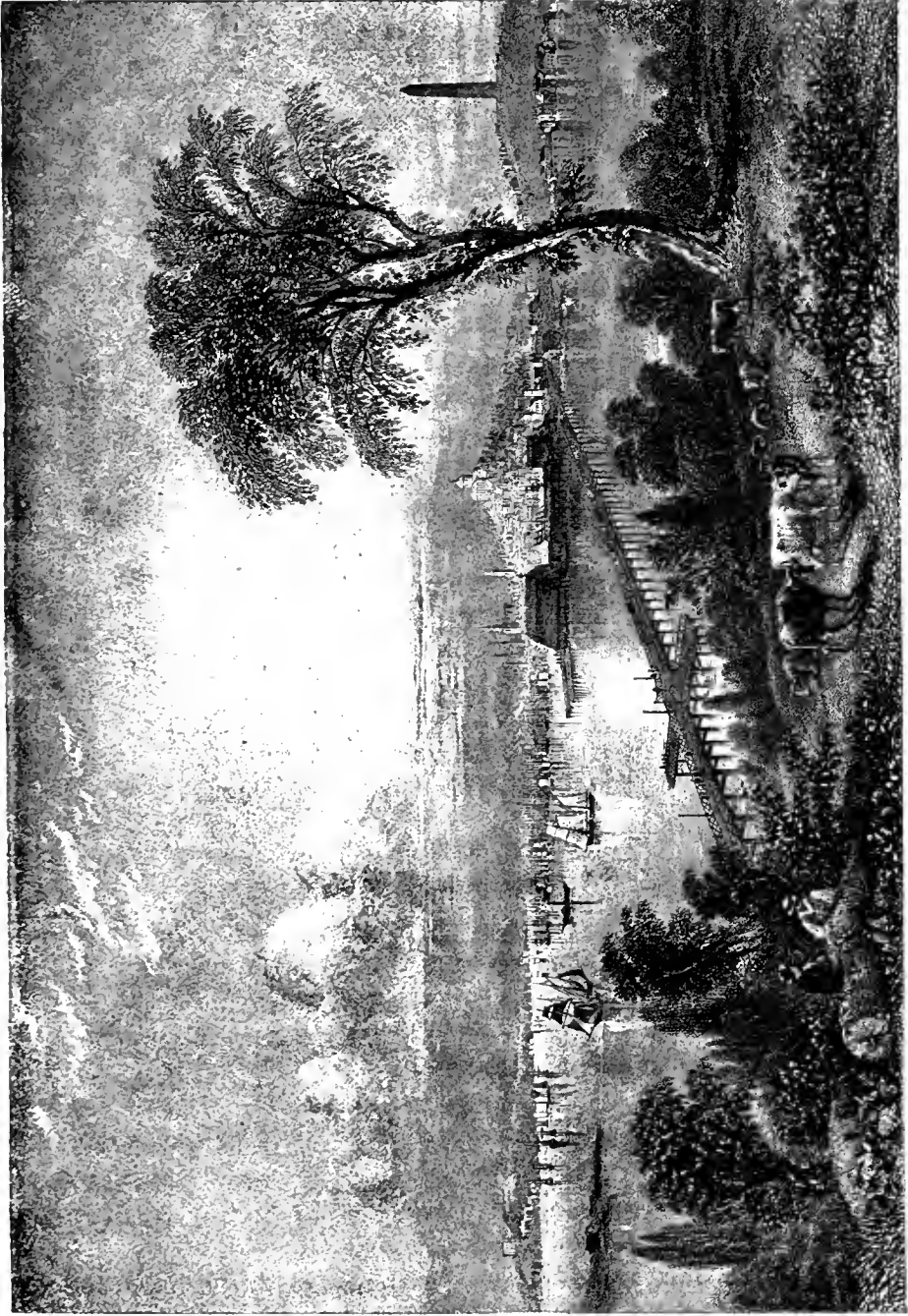
The matter, already decided by the Cabinet, to repeal the taxes on American



LAKE GEORGE: HENRY HOTEL.

imports with the exception of tea, was laid before Parliament on March 5th, 1770, by Lord North, who supported it in a temperate speech. There was a good deal of discussion, and the taxes would probably have been repealed entirely had not Lord North assured the House of Commons that the colonists were on the point of giving way. As it was, the motion was only carried by a majority of sixty-two. Just at this moment the falsity of this supposition was shown by the Boston massacre, which was really a very slight affair, but which caused the deepest indignation. On the evening of March 5th, 1770, a false alarm of fire had called a crowd into the streets, and a mob of boys and men amused themselves by surrounding and insulting a solitary sentinel who was on guard before one of the public buildings. He called for rescue, and a party consisting of a corporal and six common soldiers, under the command of Captain Preston, appeared upon the scene with loaded muskets. The mob refused to give way. About forty or fifty, many of them armed with sticks, surrounded the soldiers, shouting opprobrious words and defying them to use their arms. They soon proceeded to violence: snowballs, and possibly some stones, were thrown. It is said that one of the soldiers was struck by a club. In a moment of agitation a soldier fired, and directly afterwards seven muskets, each loaded with two balls, were discharged against the crowd. Five men fell dead or dying, and six others were wounded. Immediately the church bells rang and the drums beat "To arms!" Next day an immense meeting of citizens assembled in Faneuil Hall, resolved that the soldiers must remain no longer in the town. Hutchinson, who had succeeded Bernard as Governor, consented to the troops being removed to Fort William, on an island three miles from Boston. An immense crowd accompanied the martyrs to their place of burial. The day of their death was solemnly celebrated every year, and the Boston massacre became a national fast until its place was taken in 1783 by the 4th of July as a national festival. The soldiers were tried for murder some months later, and John Adams, afterwards President, in conjunction with Josiah Quincy, courageously undertook their defence. There was no evidence that Captain Preston had given orders to fire, whereas there was abundant proof that the soldiers had endured great provocation and some violence. All the soldiers were acquitted except two, who were found guilty of manslaughter and escaped with very slight punishment. For the next three years matters were tolerably quiet, and trade was renewed with England, except in the matter of tea.

At this time the constitution of the House of Commons naturally attracted attention. Of the five hundred and thirteen members who sat for England and Wales, as many as two hundred and fifty-four represented less than eleven thousand five hundred voters; and as many as fifty-six about seven hundred voters. Of these fifty-six members, no one had a constituency of thirty-eight electors, and six had constituencies of not more than three. The county of Middlesex returned only eight members, while Cornwall returned forty-four. The representation of Scotland was still worse than that of England. Chatham took up the cause of parliamentary reform. He did not propose to lower the suffrage, but he wished to abolish the small boroughs, which he said were the rotten parts of the constitution; and at



BOSTON AND BUNKER'S HILL.

the same time he did not propose to do away with them all at once, but to give one more member to each county as a first measure. In this way the honesty and public spirit of the House of Commons would be increased, and the influence of the small boroughs, which were bought and sold, be diminished. He had great difficulty in making up his mind about the duration of Parliaments, and at first thought that the inconveniences of frequent elections would be very serious. But at a later time he was so much impressed by the overweening influence of the Crown that he declared himself a convert to triennial parliaments. "Our all is at stake," he said, "our whole constitution is giving way."

The conflict on the question of the Middlesex election was now taken up again by the City of London. In the previous year the Lord Mayor and Corporation had presented an address to the Crown on this subject and no answer had been vouchsafed to them. In March, 1770, a Common Hall was convened and attended by nearly three thousand of the petitioners. At this meeting a remonstrance was



THE INTERIOR OF WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS.

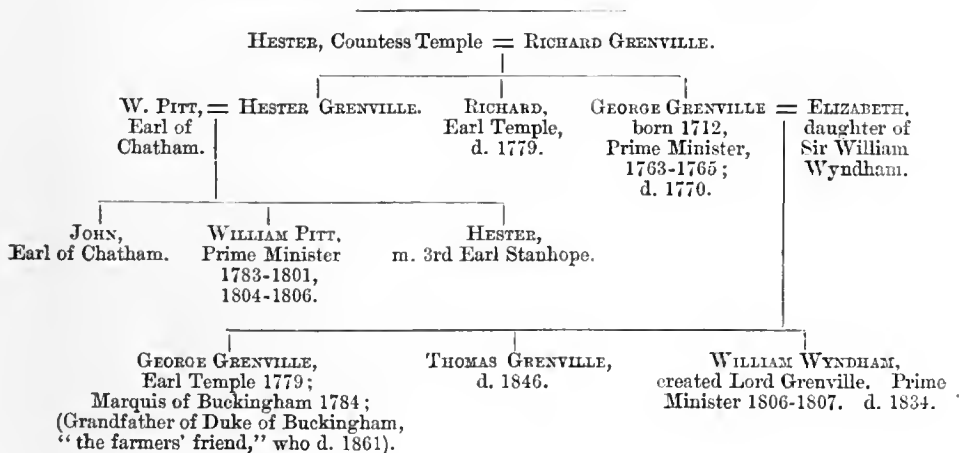
drawn up complaining of the contempt with which the petitions of the people had been treated, and inveighing against a secret and malign influence at Court. The petitioners requested the King to dissolve the Parliament, and to remove his evil Ministers for ever from his councils. The presentation of this address was so audacious that the King administered

a severe rebuke; but similar remonstrances were presented by the city of Westminster and the counties of Middlesex and Kent, and all these movements received the warm support of Chatham. Parliament was closed on May 19. A few days later the City of London presented a second remonstrance to the King couched in more temperate language. When the King had answered it the Lord Mayor, Beckford, asked permission to reply, and spoke to the King with such vehemence that the sovereign very properly withdrew without making an answer. Beckford died a few weeks afterwards, and his statue was erected in the Guildhall, with his speech to the King inscribed in letters of gold.

Together with the right of agitation and of public meeting, the position of the press now became a matter of important concern. The legal position of newspapers was one of considerable perplexity. There appeared to be a desire to withdraw them from the operation of the jury system. Lord Mansfield laid down that in all libel cases there was a question of fact, which was altogether for the jury, and a

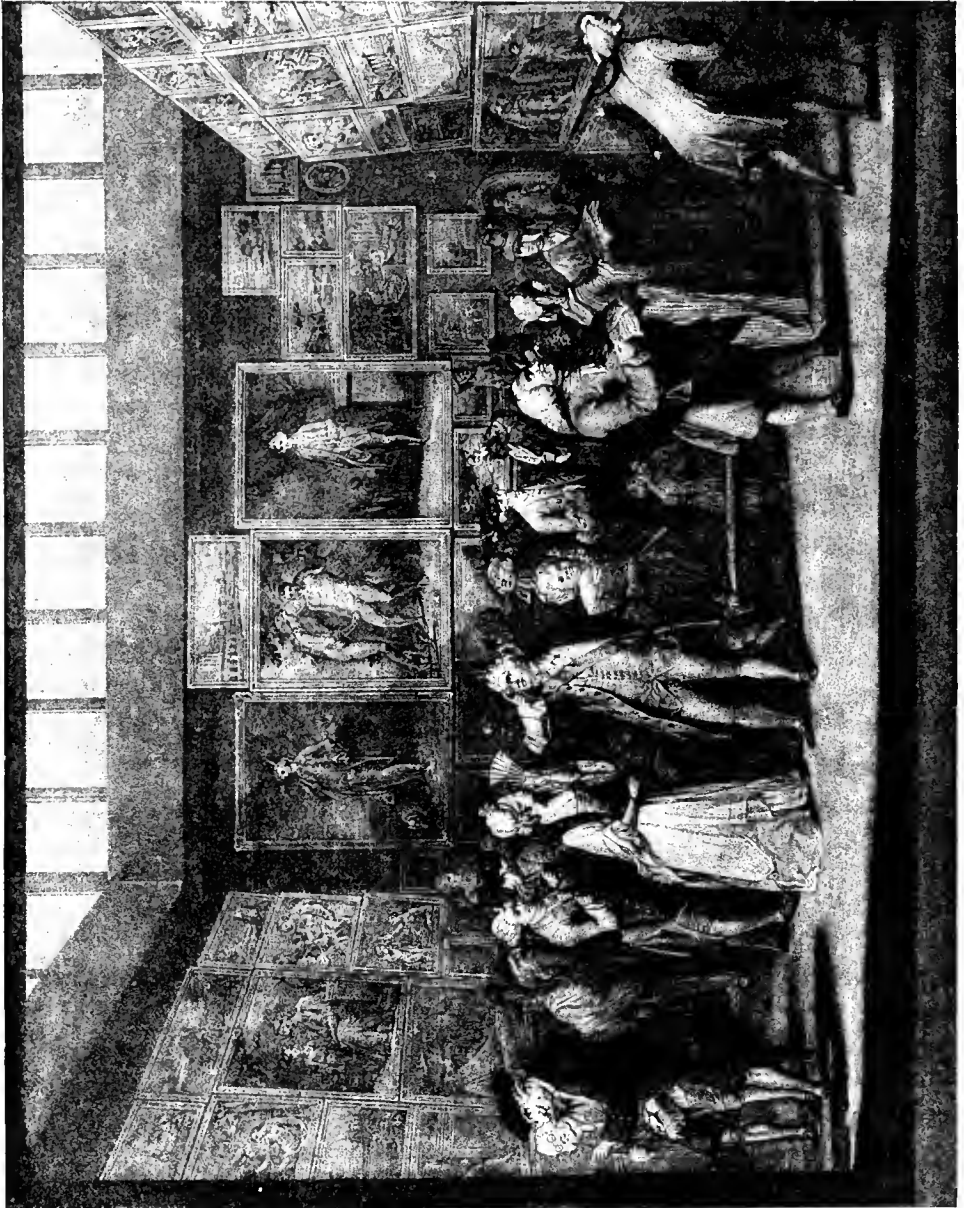
question of law, which was altogether for the judge. The question of fact was whether the person incriminated had written or published the alleged libel, and what was the meaning of its several clauses or expressions. The question of law was whether the document bearing this meaning was or was not a libel, and on this question the jury were bound to follow the direction of the judge. It, therefore, became an object of the Whig party to bring the question of the motive and intention of the libel under the jurisdiction of the jury, but their attempts were at first unsuccessful. Another important question was the right of publishing parliamentary debates. In a discussion in the House of Lords about the Spanish war, the Duke of Manchester was discoursing on the weakness of Gibraltar. Upon this, Lord Gower proposed to clear the House of strangers, which was resisted by Lord Chatham. The House was then cleared, and some members of the House of Commons who were bringing up a bill were hooted out. The Commons retaliated by enforcing the exclusion of strangers on their side, and a bitter quarrel was only

GENEALOGY OF THE GRENVILLES AND PITTS.



averted by the tact and good temper of Lord North. It had long been the practice of the newspapers, and other periodical journals, to publish the debates of Parliament under various disguises. The *London Museum* published them under the name of "Debates in a Political Club," and the *Gentleman's Magazine* entitled them "Debates in the Senate of Lilliput." The latter report was prepared, for nearly three years, by Dr. Johnson (1740—1743), who never attended the galleries himself, but derived his information from persons who could seldom give him more than the names of the speakers, and the side which each of them took in the debate. The speeches were, therefore, the composition of Johnson himself; and some of the most admired oratory of the period was avowedly the production of his genius. The names of the speakers given in these reports were fictitious, often those derived from Roman history, and afterwards explained in advertisements separate from the volumes. If the real names were used, they were only designated by the

first and final letters. At length in 1771, at the suggestion of Wilkes, notes of the speeches, with the names of the speakers, were openly published in several journals—the *London Evening Post*, the *St. James's Chronicle*, and others. It is very probable that the jealousies of Parliament would have been overcome, if these



THE ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITION OF 1771. FROM A PRINT BY R. EARLOM.

reports had been impartial, or even correct. But they were far from being either. They were misrepresented to suit the views of different parties, and Dr. Johnson is even said to have confessed that he “took care that the Whig dogs should not have the best of it.” It is even maintained that Philip Francis, who is generally



supposed to be Junius, was the real author of some of Chatham's most celebrated speeches.

On February 8, 1771, George Onslow, the member for Guildford, complained that two newspapers—the *Gazetteer* and the *Middlesex Journal*—had called him “little cocking George,” and other opprobrious names. The printers were ordered to attend but they could not be found. The King was, therefore, asked to issue a proclamation for their apprehension. On March 12th, Onslow made a complaint of six other printers, one of whom, Miller, of the *London Evening Post*, refused to attend and was ordered into custody. When the messenger from the House attempted to arrest him a scuffle ensued, and the messenger was taken by a city constable and brought before the Lord Mayor, Brass Crosby, and two aldermen, Oliver and Wilkes. The magistrates decided that to arrest a citizen within the precincts of the city, and without the knowledge of the city magistrates, was a flagrant violation of the city's charters. They not only refused to give Miller up, but they ordered the officer of the Commons to give bail on a charge for assault. The House was much excited at what had occurred, and ordered by a large majority that the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver, who were members of Parliament, should attend in their places, and that Alderman Wilkes should appear at the bar. The next day the Lord Mayor



A LODGE IN THE WILDERNESS.

came amidst the cheers of the populace. He justified his conduct in defending the rights of the citizens who were entrusted to his charge and demanded to be heard by counsel. The Speaker said they could not hear a counsel against their own privileges. The House of Commons then sent for the book in which their messenger had entered his recognisance for bail. They ordered the entry to be expunged and the prosecution for assault to be stopped. Lord Chatham declared this to be the act of a mob and not of a Parliament. The matter was adjourned till March 25, when after a long and stormy debate the Lord Mayor and Oliver were committed to the Tower. The Lord Mayor had been accompanied every day to and from Westminster by a large crowd of people. In the Tower itself they received every mark of public sympathy, and they were set free on May 8, by the prorogation of Parliament. Since this time the publication of debates, although still asserted to be a breach of privilege, has gone on with only occasional interruptions.

Parliament met again in January, 1772. The King was exposed to a number of domestic troubles and afflictions. The Duke of Cumberland, one of his brothers, after being the cause of several public scandals, secretly married a Mrs. Horton, the widow of a gentleman in Derbyshire. Soon after this the Duke of Gloucester, his favourite brother, had to confess that he had been married several years before to the Countess of Waldegrave. At the same time news arrived from Copenhagen that the King's sister, the Queen of Denmark, had been arrested on a charge of adultery, and had been thrown into prison. She lived for some time in a remote castle in Hanover, and died protesting her innocence. The Princess of Wales, the King's mother, expired shortly afterwards at Carlton House of cancer. She was pursued up to the moment of her death with most violent hatred, and her burial service was accompanied by the shouts and rejoicings of the mob. The consequence of these events was the introduction of the Royal Marriage Bill in 1772, which prohibited any descendant of the late King, except those who were the issue of princesses married into foreign houses, from contracting a marriage before the age



SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.

of twenty-five without the consent of the King signified under the Great Seal. After that age they might marry without the royal consent, but only if they had given notice of their intention to the Privy Council twelve months before the ceremony was performed; and if the two houses of Parliament did not signify their disapprobation. All marriages contracted in defiance of this Act were to be null, and all who celebrated them or assisted at them were to be subject to severe penalties. The Bill was strongly opposed, as its spirit was held to be German rather than English. It was extremely unpopular outside Parliament, and was carried with great difficulty.

The King told Lord North that every nerve should be strained to carry the Bill through, and that he expected hearty support from every one in his service and should remember defaulters.

The most prominent American in England at the present time was Benjamin Franklin. He held under the Government the position of Postmaster-General for America. He was once thought of as Under Secretary of State for the Colonies under Lord Hillsborough, and his son was Royal Governor of New Jersey. He was a man of letters and of science, and in 1752 made his name universally known in Europe by the discovery of the lightning conductor. He took a prominent part in every phase of the struggle with England, and if he had been able to guide American opinion it would never have ended in revolution. He had no sympathy with anarchy, violence, or declamation, and his natural leaning was towards the Tories. He spoke of England as having the best constitution and the best king that any nation was ever blest with. He opposed the Stamp Act, but was in favour of America contributing towards Imperial expenses. He was agent

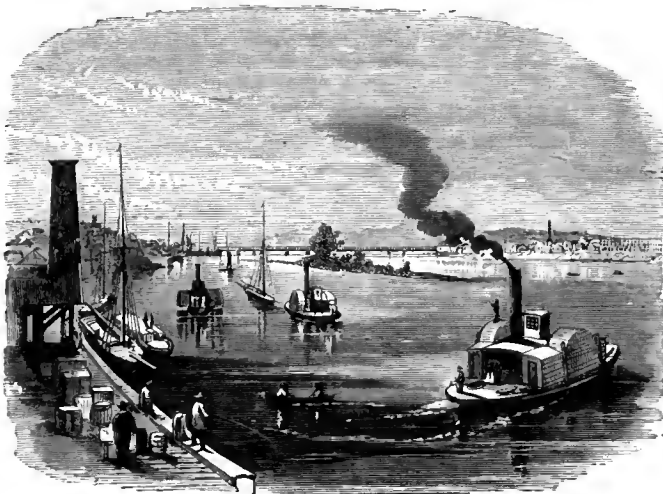
for Pennsylvania, for New Jersey, for Georgia, and for Massachusetts. It had been for a long time the habit of Hutchinson, the Governor-General of Massachusetts, and of some other politicians of the same kind, to write confidential letters on the state of the colonies to Whately, who had been private secretary to George Grenville. Whately died in June, 1772, and in the following December the letters of his American correspondence were stolen and carried to Franklin. They contained remarks upon the turbulent and rebellious disposition of Boston, the factious character of the local agitators, the weakness of the executive, and the necessity of a military force to support the Government. These letters, which were strictly private, were brought to Franklin for his perusal. He obtained permission to send them to Massachusetts on condition that they should not be



ZOFFANY'S PICTURE OF THE ROYAL ACADEMICIANS, 1773.

printed or copied; that they should be shown only to a few leading people; that they should eventually be returned, and that the source from which they were obtained should be concealed. The letters were sent to Thomas Cushing, the Speaker of the Assembly of Massachusetts, and they soon created a general ferment. They were finally brought before the Assembly at a secret sitting, and in consequence they petitioned the King to remove Hutchinson and Oliver from the Government. They were eventually printed and scattered broadcast over the colonies. Franklin boldly avowed his part in the transaction. He said that he, and he alone, had obtained the letters and transmitted them to Boston. He maintained that he had acted in the most honourable manner; that the letters were brought to him as agent for Massachusetts, and that it was his

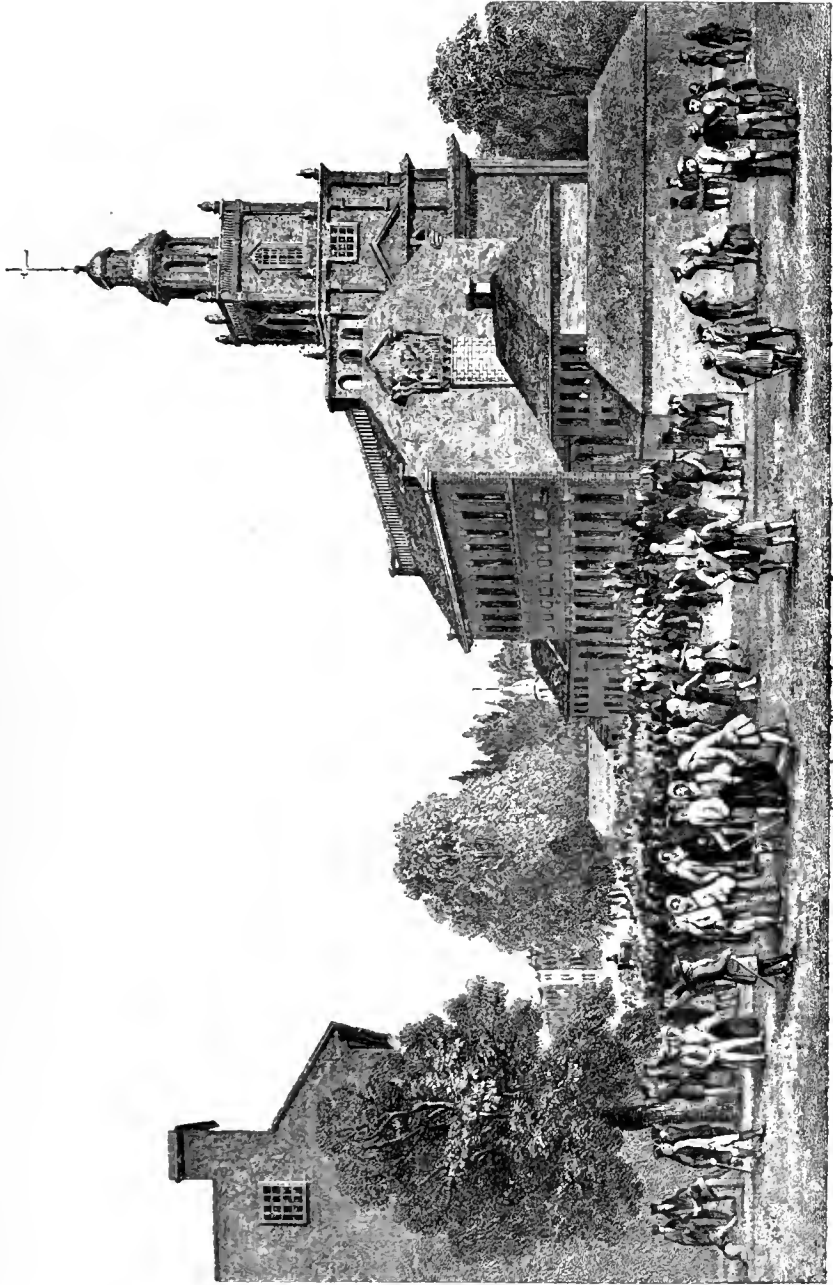
duty to communicate to his constituents intelligence of such vital importance. The matter was referred to a committee of the Privy Council, at which Wedderburn attacked Franklin with the utmost vehemence. He said: "How the letters came into the possession of anyone but their right owners is still a mystery for Dr. Franklin to explain. He was not the rightful owner, and they could not have come into his hands by fair means. Nothing can acquit him of the charge of obtaining them by fraudulent or corrupt means for the most malignant purposes, unless he stole them from the person who stole them. I hope, my lords, you will brand this man, for the honour of his country, of Europe, and of mankind." During the attack Franklin stood erect and without moving a muscle. He said afterwards, that nothing sustained him but the consciousness of innocence. He was ignominiously dismissed from the office of Postmaster, an office which had yielded no revenue before he had received it, but which by his organisation had become lucrative and important.



SARATOGA RAILWAY BRIDGE.

At this time an event occurred which set fire to the smouldering embers of discontent existing in the colonies. About seventeen million pounds of tea lay unsold in the warehouses of the East India Company. The Company was at this time almost in a state of bankruptcy, and in order to assist it the whole duty which had formerly been imposed on the exportation to

America was remitted. The Company had hitherto sent its tea to England, where it was sold to merchants and dealers, and by them exported to the colonies. The Company was now permitted to export tea direct on their own account, on obtaining a license from the Treasury. Several ships freighted with tea were sent to the colonies, and it was expected that if it were once landed it would find purchasers from the very low price at which it was sold. The "Sons of Liberty" therefore determined to prevent the tea from being landed, and on December 16, 1773, when three ships laden with tea had arrived at Boston, forty or fifty men, disguised as Mohawk Indians, under the direct superintendence of Samuel Adams, Hancock, and others, boarded them, and flung the whole cargo into the sea. The ships despatched to other ports did not fare much better. About the same time, the Assembly of Massachusetts declared all judges who received salaries from the Crown, instead of from the people, unworthy of public confidence, and threatened to impeach them before the Council and the Governor.



OLD STATE HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA.

Consequently, on March 30, 1774, Hutchinson prorogued the House, and accused it of having been guilty of proceedings which struck directly at the honour and authority of the King and Parliament.

Burke and Chatham were strongly in favour of conciliation, but it may be doubted whether at this time it would not have come too late. At any rate, the King and Parliament were determined to subdue the colonies, and saw no middle course between that and absolute separation. Three great measures of coercion were passed. By the first the harbour of Boston was closed; the custom house officers were removed to Salem; all landing, lading, and shipping of merchandise in Boston harbour was forbidden; the town was debarred from all commerce by sea. By a second act, the charter of Massachusetts was re-modelled; the Assembly was left untouched, but the Council or Upper Chamber was to be appointed by the Crown; the right of public meeting was seriously abridged. By the third act, it was provided that in certain cases, if a fair trial could not be held in the province, the prisoner might be sent for trial to any other colony or to Great Britain. The colonists remonstrated against these acts, saying, that by the first, the property of unoffending thousands was arbitrarily taken away for the act of a few individuals; by the second, their charter of liberties was annihilated; and by the third, their lives might be destroyed with impunity. General Gage was appointed Governor of Massachusetts, and he was given power by Act of Parliament to quarter soldiers on the inhabitants.

At the same time a different policy was pursued towards Canada. By the Quebec Act, English law, with trial by jury, was introduced for all criminal cases; but the French law, without trial by jury, was maintained in civil cases. The Legislative Council was open both to Protestants and Catholics, and the Catholic religion, which was that of the majority of the inhabitants, was virtually established. These measures, although they secured the loyalty of Canada, tended to exasperate the discontented colonists in America. Boston received the sympathy of her fellow-countrymen in her misfortunes. Virginia, under the guidance of Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, declared that June 1, 1774, the day on which the Boston Port Act came into operation, should be set apart as a day of fasting, prayer, and humiliation. Money and provisions poured into Massachusetts. The ports which were expected to grow rich by the ruin of Boston offered the Boston merchants the free use of their harbours, wharves, and warehouses. Committees were established in every district for the purpose of organising resistance and keeping up a correspondence between the colonies. A solemn league and covenant was formed, binding the subscribers to abstain from all commercial intercourse with Great Britain till the Coercion Acts were repealed. All who refused to join in these movements were to be held up in the newspapers to popular vengeance, and on September 5, 1774, the delegates of the twelve states assembled in congress at Philadelphia.

Both sides now prepared for war. Fresh ships and troops were sent to Boston, and General Gage fortified the narrow neck of land which joined it to the continent. Those who supported the Government were either tarred and

feathered, or carried about seated astride on a rail. One man was fastened to the body of a dead ox, which he had bought from a loyalist, and another was nearly suffocated. Such outrages, however much they are to be regretted, are the inevitable result of revolutionary feeling. The Congress of Philadelphia was attended by representatives from all the thirteen colonies, except Georgia. They passed a Declaration of Rights, in which they claimed all the liberties of Englishmen, and asserted their right to representative institutions, self-taxation, free discussion, and local trial by jury. They maintained that the persistent attempts of the British legislature to impose taxes upon them, the prohibition of public meetings to discuss grievances, the violation of charters, the removal of prisoners for trial, were all acts of oppression, to which, they plainly declared, the Americans would not submit. Resolutions were passed to suspend all imports from Great Britain or Ireland after December 1, and to discontinue all exports after September 10 in the following year, unless these grievances were redressed. Besides this, addresses were made to the people of Great Britain and Canada, and a petition to the King, which were meant as a last appeal for relief. It was dissolved after having sat for less than eight weeks, but determined that unless the grievances were redressed another Congress should meet at Philadelphia on May 10, 1775; and it recommended all the colonies to choose deputies as soon as possible. The most remarkable fact in their deliberations was, that they disclaimed all intention of separating from England. Indeed, Franklin assured Chatham that, having more than once travelled almost from one end of the continent to the other, and having kept a great variety of company, eating, drinking, and conversing with them freely, he had never heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for separation, or a hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America. Indeed, the colonists on their side believed that redress could be obtained without fighting, and Englishmen thought that the discontent of America was only the work of a few agitators, who would easily be put down at the first display of force.

In the meantime, the difficulties which surrounded the Governor of Boston were growing daily more numerous. He was unable to form a council, according to the terms of the Act which annulled the Massachusetts charter; the juries refused to serve; and not one of the various judicial officers found it safe to act under the new law, except within the shelter of the fortified parts of Boston. Under these circumstances General Gage recalled the writs which he had issued for a new Assembly to meet in October. But the elections proceeded nevertheless, and in open defiance of his proclamation, the delegates assembled at Salem, whence they adjourned to Concord, an inland town further removed from the Governor's



DOSWELL.

control. Here they declared themselves a Provincial Congress, and appointed a Committee of Safety for the administration of the affairs of the colony. This committee forthwith provided measures for the public defence, and they enrolled a militia, called minute men, because they were engaged to appear in arms at a moment's notice. Ammunition and stores were also provided, and military officers appointed; and when it became known that the export of arms and ammunition had been prohibited in England, several riots ensued, in which the people attacked the small forts and seized the artillery and such weapons as they contained.

The new Parliament met on November 30, 1774, but no serious measure with respect to America was taken till January, 1775, after the Christmas vacation. The Ministers had a large majority, and the feeling of both Houses was strongly against the Americans. Chatham, however, identified himself with the American cause, and strongly advocated measures of conciliation. He repeated his own opinion that self-taxation is the essential condition of political freedom. He justified the resistance of America, and predicted that all attempts at coercion would fail. On February 1 he introduced a bill for the purpose of conciliation. It asserted the right of Parliament to bind the colonies in all matters of Imperial concern. It also confirmed the right of the Crown to send British soldiers to the colonies without the assent of the Provincial Assemblies. On the other hand, it recognised the civil right of the colonies to tax themselves, guaranteed the inviolability of their charters, and made the tenure of her judges the same as in England. It proposed to make the Philadelphia Congress a permanent body, which would make a free grant for Imperial purposes. A few weeks later Burke moved a series of resolutions recommending a repeal of the recent Acts complained of in America, reforming the Admiralty Court and the position of the judges, and leaving American taxation to the American Assemblies, without touching upon any question of abstract right. Burke's resolutions were defeated by large majorities, and Chatham's bill was not even admitted to a second reading. Lord North had also propounded a scheme of conciliation. He proposed that so long as any colony made a proper contribution to the expenses of the empire it should be exempted from all Imperial taxation for the purpose of revenue. It produced a revolt of his own supporters, but was eventually carried. The scheme in itself was not unfair or unreasonable, but it came too late. Before there was time for the proposition to be considered in America the first blood had been shed. On the night of April 18, 1775, General Gage sent a force of eight hundred soldiers to capture a magazine of stores which had been collected for the use of the provincial army in the town of Concord, about eighteen miles from Boston. The road lay through the little village of Lexington. Here, about five o'clock on the morning of April 19, the advance guard of the British troops found a party of sixty or seventy armed volunteers drawn up to oppose them. As they refused to disperse, the English fired a volley, which killed or wounded sixteen of their number. The troops then proceeded to Concord, where they spiked two cannon, threw into the river five hundred pounds of ball and sixty barrels of powder, destroyed a large



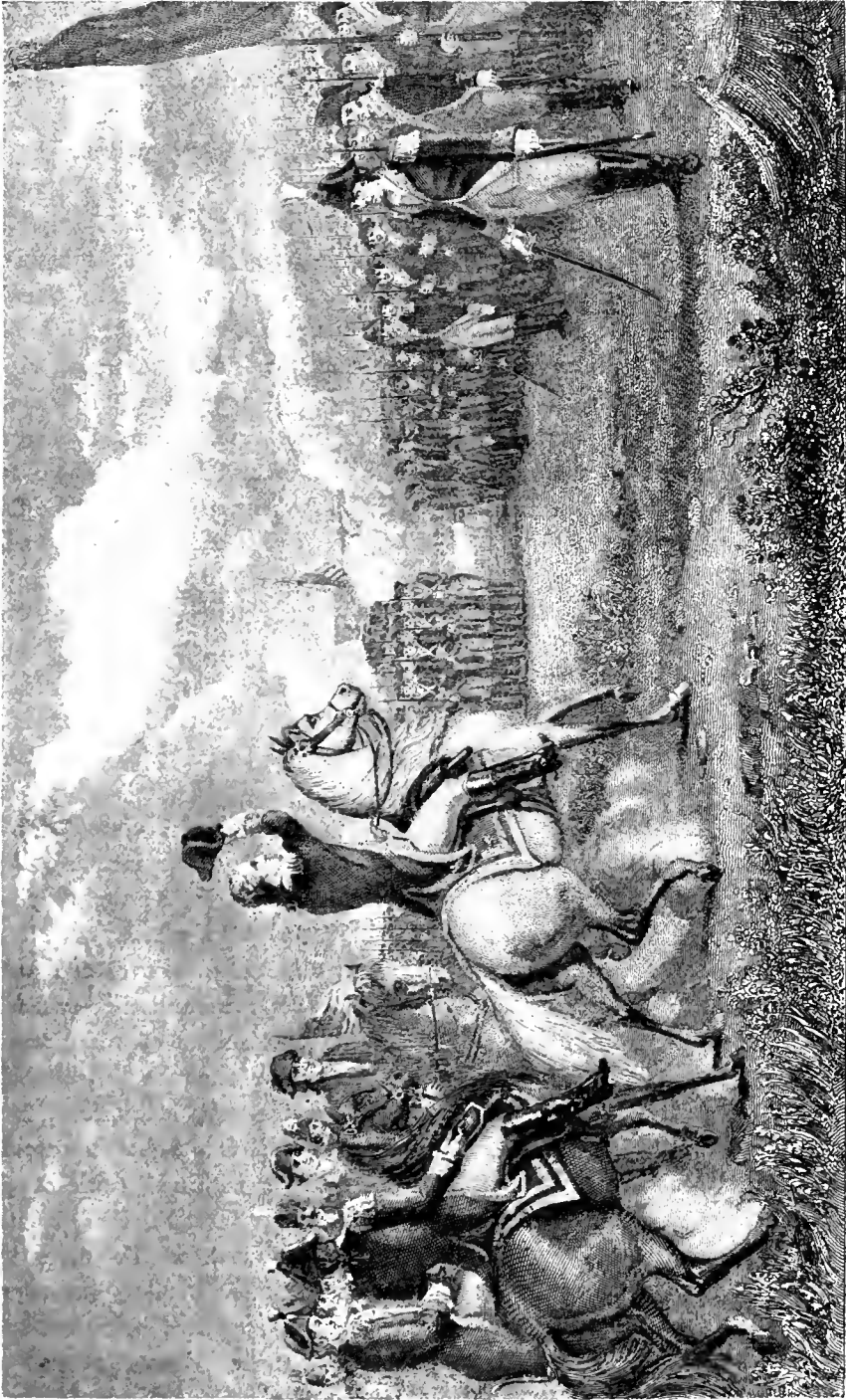


BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL.

quantity of flour, and then set out on their return. In the meantime large bodies of yeomen and militia had flocked to the scene of conflict. The troops were harassed by a continual fire during the whole of their march, and they would probably have been entirely annihilated had they not been reinforced at Lexington by nine hundred men and two cannon. The British lost sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight prisoners; whereas the American loss was less than ninety men.

The whole province was now in arms. The Massachusetts Congress resolved that the New England army should be raised to thirty thousand men; General Gage was blockaded in Boston, and waited for reinforcements from England, which did not arrive till the end of May. The first battle of the civil war arose from his attempt to fortify an important post which had hitherto been left unoccupied. Behind the town of Charleston rose two hills which commanded a large part of the town and harbour of Boston. One of them, Breed's Hill, was about seventy-five feet, the other, Bunker's Hill, was about one hundred and ten feet in height. Cambridge, the American headquarters, was about four miles from Boston. The Americans occupied Breed's Hill on the night of June 16th, and threw up a strong fort. The next day a detachment of troops under General Howe was sent to dislodge them. The English forces were nearly double those of the Americans, but they did not take the position until the third attack. The victory was dearly purchased, as the British loss was more than double that of the Americans. Such was the battle of Breed's, commonly called that of Bunker's Hill. It was unimportant in itself, but like the battle of Valmy at the commencement of the revolutionary war, it was the beginning of an epoch. It showed that raw and half-drilled volunteers, inspired by patriotic enthusiasm, could successfully withstand the attack of a much larger number of regular troops. It immediately roused vast enthusiasm in the country, and from this moment the best judges began to predict the ultimate success of the Americans.

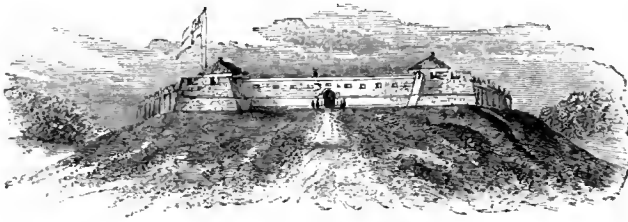
In the meantime the Continental Congress had begun a second session at Philadelphia, this time with the addition of Georgia. They rejected the conciliatory offer of Lord North. They drew up a petition to the King, disclaiming any desire for separation. They ordered the levy of ten companies of riflemen. They organised the army, determined upon an expedition to Canada, issued letters of credit, established an American post-office, and, above all, selected George Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the American army. Although these measures had the outward appearance of unanimity, they were really carried by small majorities and against vehement opposition. To a certain extent the appointment of Washington was an accident, and the post might have been expected to fall either to Ward or Lee, but it was probably this choice that determined more than anything else the success of the movement. His influence depended quite as much on moral as on intellectual qualities. No man had a firmer temper or a more balanced mind. It was only slowly and by degrees that he identified himself with the cause of the revolution. He had a great admiration for the British constitution, and a strong desire to maintain the connection with England.



WASHINGTON TAKING COMMAND OF THE ARMY AT CAMBRIDGE.

One of the first events of the war was the invasion of Canada, which was at first successful. Montreal was occupied, and siege was laid to Quebec, but owing perhaps to the wisdom of the Quebec Bill, the Canadians remained loyal to England. Their laws and their religion had been guaranteed; they had enjoyed much prosperity and happiness under English rule, and the Catholic priests were strongly on the side of the English Government.

The petition to the King sent by the second congress was known as the Olive Branch Petition. Richard Penn, one of the proprietors of Pennsylvania, was commissioned to present it to the sovereign. Public opinion ran so strongly against the colonists, that Lord Dartmouth replied to Penn that no answer would be given to the petition, since the Congress had no legal authority, and was assembled in direct defiance of the royal proclamations. The royal speech, on October 26, 1775, exclaimed most strongly against the Americans, and promised that the most vigorous efforts should be made to suppress the rebellion. The Duke of Grafton, who was in favour of conciliation, resigned the Privy Seal, and Lord George Germain, afterwards Lord Sackville, became Colonial Secretary. This was not very agreeable to the Americans, because he had been dismissed from the army sixteen years before, in

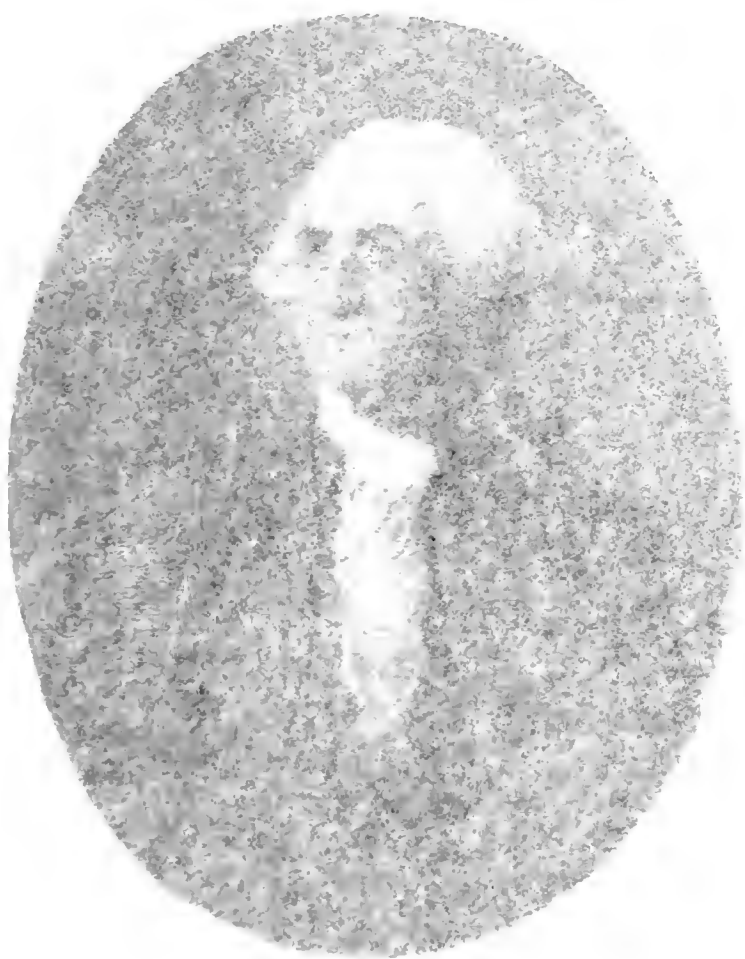


THE HUDSON: FORT FREDERICK.

consequence of misconduct at the battle of Minden. The Olive Branch Petition was taken into consideration in the House of Lords on November 7, and Richard Penn was examined before them. He declared that his countrymen had taken up

arms solely in defence of their liberties, and not for independence; that they had no wish to be severed from the Crown of Great Britain, and they desired above all things reconciliation with the mother country. The only effect of these overtures was that the Government sent commissioners to America with full and unlimited authority to grant pardons, inquire into grievances, and remove restrictions of trade from those colonies which returned to their allegiance. The fact is that the bulk of the colonists were shrewd, prosperous, and well-educated farmers, industrious, fond of money, and eminently domestic. If they were compelled to fight they would do so with courage and intelligence, but they cared little or nothing for military glory, and they grudged every hour that separated them from their families and farms. These men were drawn into the struggle with great reluctance. The revolution in America, like most other revolutions, was the work of a small, but energetic minority, who succeeded in committing an undecided and fluctuating majority to courses for which they had little enthusiasm, and in leading them step by step to a position from which it was impossible for them to recede.

The condition of the army was very poor. When Washington arrived at Cambridge to take command he found that it nominally consisted of about



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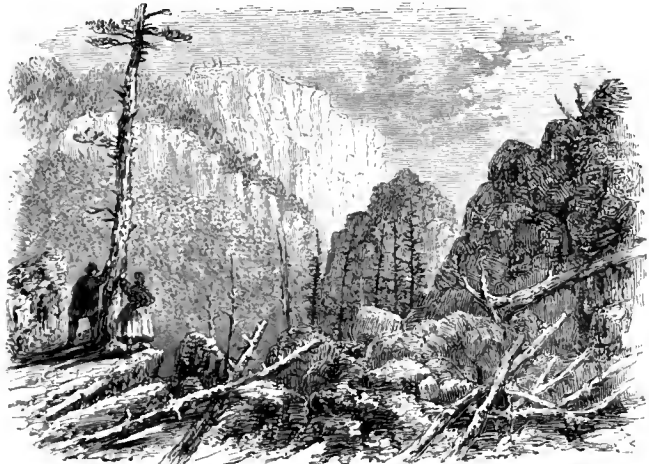
GEORGE WASHINGTON.





seventeen thousand men, but that not more than fourteen thousand five hundred were fit for service, and that these had to guard a line of nearly twelve miles in the face of a numerous enemy. Colonel Lee estimated that in three or four months the colonies would have an army of a hundred thousand infantry, but, as a matter of fact, not more than five thousand men were collected during this time. Discipline also was bad, and the troops objected to obey any officers except those whom they had chosen for themselves. Had a general of genius been at the head of the British army at this time the colonists must have been entirely destroyed, but the English showed an entire absence of all military capacity. General Gage had more than eleven thousand men at his disposal, but he kept them inactive behind their trenches. At Bunker's Hill more than a thousand men were lost in capturing a position which during several months might have been occupied any day without resistance. He was recalled in October, 1775, General Howe succeeding him in command; but this did not remove the spirit of indecision and incapacity.

During the spring of 1776 the American army was largely increased in numbers and more money was voted for it by Congress. The blockade of Boston became more severe. Many of the British soldiers were disabled by sickness. The privateers which swarmed along the coast made it difficult to obtain provisions, and at last on March 4, 1776, the Americans obtained

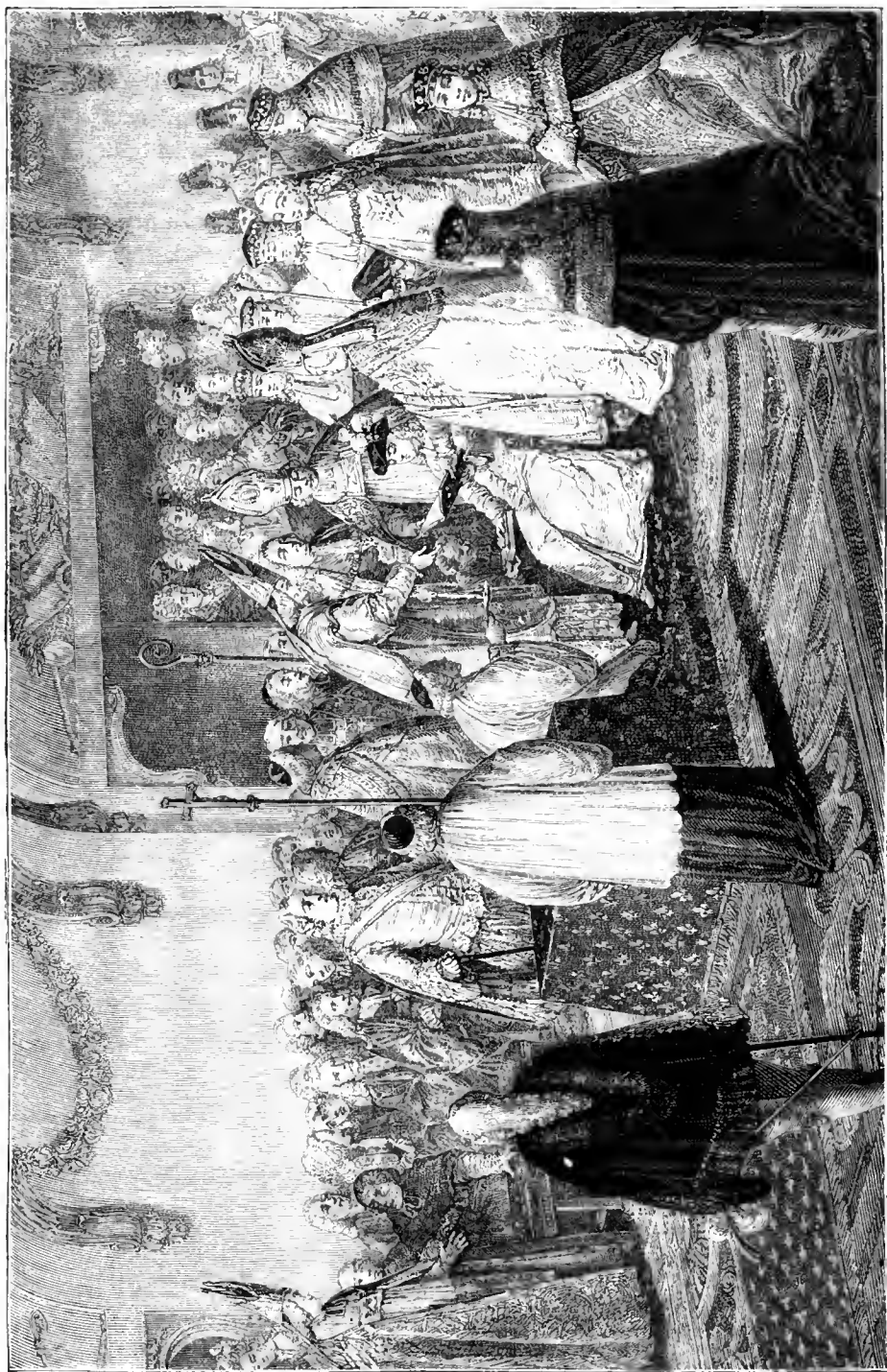


THE HUDSON: ADIRONDACK OR INDIAN PASS.

possession of the heights of Dorchester, which commanded the harbour. The town was no longer tenable. On March 17, Howe, with the remainder of his army, consisting of seven thousand six hundred men, sailed for Halifax, and Washington marched into Boston in triumph.

The Americans now took a new departure. An anonymous pamphlet called "Common Sense," which advocated complete separation from England, appeared at Philadelphia in January, 1776. It was written by the well-known Thomas Paine, who had recently come over from England, and it was said that not less than a hundred thousand copies of it were sold. Conciliation with the mother country appeared more and more hopeless. An Act of Parliament was passed authorising the confiscation of all American ships and cargoes, and of all vessels of other nations trading with American ports. The commanders of British ships of war were empowered to seize the crews of all American vessels, and to compel them, under pain of being treated as mutineers, to serve against their countrymen. Together with

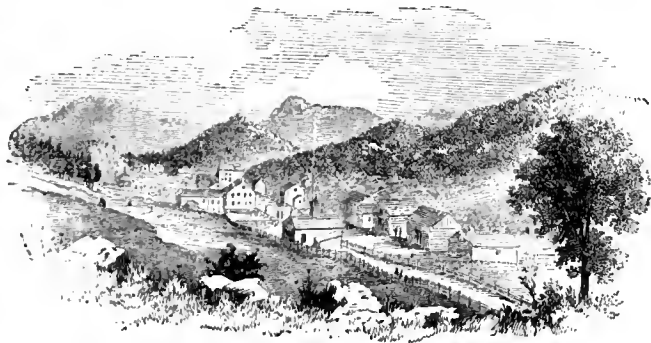
the question of independence was closely connected that of asking assistance from



LOUIS XVI. TAKING THE CORONATION OATH.

abroad, and especially from France. It was in the interest of France to promote

the independence of America, because she could thus obtain for herself a share in that commerce from which she had been excluded by the Navigation Act. Ever since the Peace of Paris a feeling of humiliation and discontent had brooded over French society. The influence of France in Europe had diminished by the rise of Russia and Prussia, and by the partition of Poland. France had taken no part in preventing this piece of robbery in 1772, nor had they two years afterwards hindered the Russians from acquiring the Crimea and establishing a right of protectorate over the Christians in Constantinople. Louis XV. had died in May, 1774, and it was hoped that with the advent of a new king a more venturous spirit might prevail at the Tuileries. At the same time it was impossible that the colonies could obtain the assistance of France unless they first declared themselves to be independent. France could not be expected to assist rebellious subjects who at any time might make their peace with the mother country. The English on their side did not hesitate to employ foreign assistance. A portion of the electoral army of Hanover was used to garrison Minorca and Gibraltar. The Dutch and the Russians were asked to contribute troops, but they both refused. The petty sovereigns of Germany were less particular, and were quite ready to sell their subjects to England. The Duke of Brunswick and the Princes of Hesse Cassel were principally engaged in this traffic. They supplied 17,742 men to serve under English officers in America. This last step led directly to the Declaration of Inde-



THE HUDSON: ADIRONDACK VILLAGE.

pendence. It was idle for the Americans to have any further scruples about calling in foreigners when England herself set the example.

The step indeed was not taken without difficulty. The Southern states were strongly opposed to a republican Government, and John Adams, who was the chief author of the measure, was obliged to use all his influence to carry the point. The Assemblies of Virginia, Maryland, and Massachusetts had already declared in favour of independence, and had instructed their representatives in the Congress to vote for it. At length Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, proposed on June 7th, 1776, a resolution, which was seconded by John Adams, of Massachusetts, "That the united colonies are and ought to be free and independent states, and that their political connection with Great Britain is and ought to be dissolved." After considerable discussion a committee of five was appointed to draft the Declaration, but it was mainly the work of Thomas Jefferson.

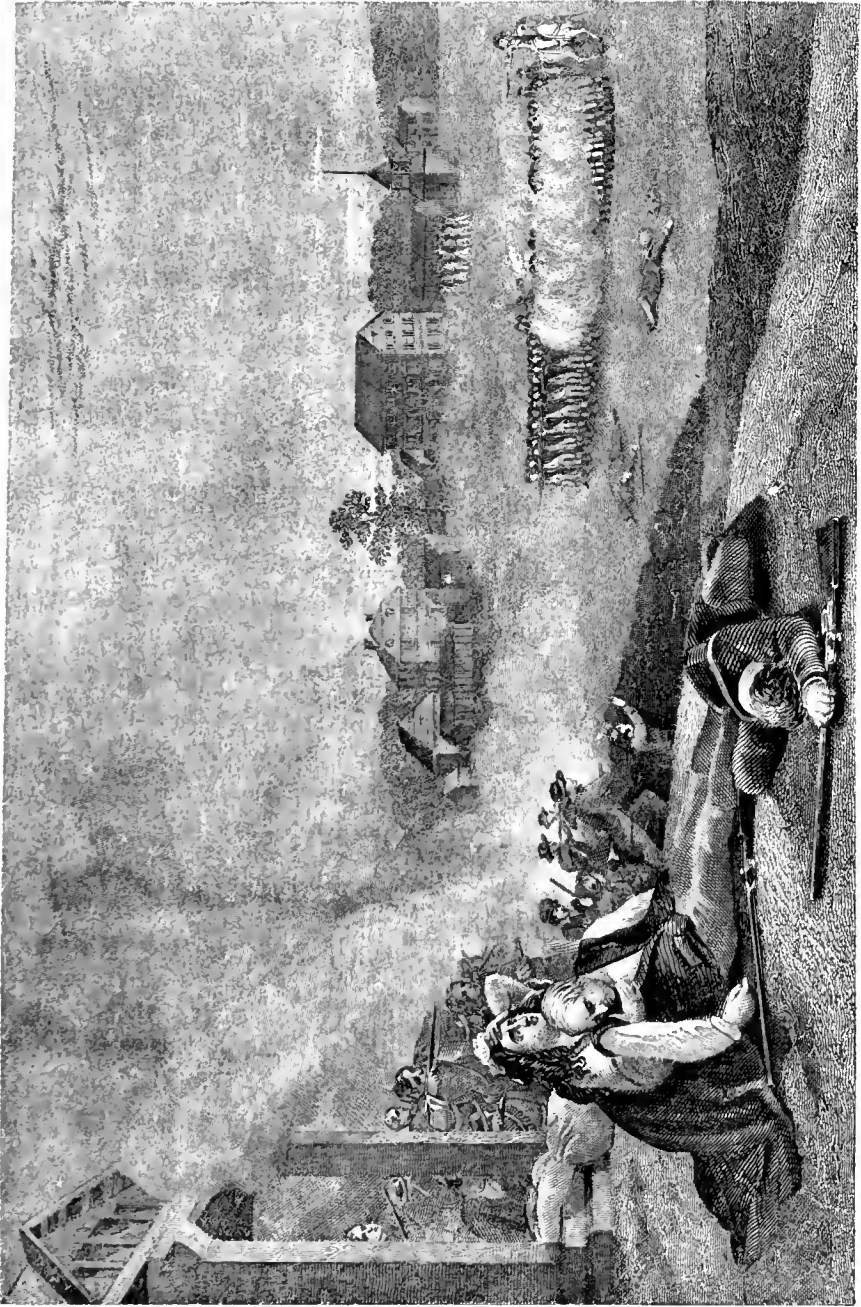
On the Fourth of July, which has since been always observed as a national holiday in America, the Declaration was unanimously adopted, and copies distributed all

over the country. The thirteen united colonies assumed the title of the United States of America. Articles of federation were drawn up, and in the year 1781 were finally ratified by all the states.

When General Howe sailed from Boston for Halifax, on March 17, 1776, he had a force of about ten thousand men, whereas the army of Washington amounted to 21,800 men, of whom 2,700 were sick. In April Washington left Boston and went to New York, which now became the centre of the struggle. General Howe gradually moved in the same direction. At Staten Island he was joined by the fleet from England, under his brother, Lord Howe, and he now had an army of 30,000 men. On August 27 a battle took place between the two armies, and the Americans were entirely defeated. If Howe had known how to use his victory, the whole of the enemy must have been dispersed; but the Americans succeeded in effecting their retreat, with the assistance of a dense fog. Washington was compelled to abandon the lines which he had constructed with so much labour, and on September 15th Howe completed his campaign by the capture of New York. Washington had felt so sure that he was unable to hold the city, that he made preparations for its entire destruction by fire. Indeed, six days after it fell into the hands of the English fires broke out in various quarters, and about a fourth of the city was destroyed. It is certain that Washington knew nothing of this.

Other operations were proceeding in the north and south. Schuyler, who commanded the northern army which had just evacuated Canada, received Gates as a colleague. They fell back on the strong fort of Ticonderoga; but the Americans also occupied Crown Point, which was 15 miles distant, and had a little fleet which gave them the command of Lake Champlain, which was placed under the command of Benedict Arnold. The English, however, built a fleet which was far superior in strength to that of the Americans. They compelled them to evacuate Crown Point, and totally defeated the American fleet. Carleton, who commanded the English army, made no attempt to besiege Ticonderoga, but retired into winter quarters on the frontier of Canada. In the south General Clinton, supported by a fleet under Sir Peter Parker, attempted to capture Charlestown, but after failing in the attempt sailed for New York. In December, 1776, they occupied Rhode Island, one of the provinces most hostile to British interests. Unfortunately, Indians were employed on both sides, which greatly added to the horrors of the war. A considerable fleet was also collected, which did much harm to British commerce.

The later months of 1776 form one of the darkest periods in the struggle. The army of Washington had dwindled to less than three thousand men. So slight was the enthusiasm for the war, that the troops disbanded of their own accord as soon as their time of service was at an end. Washington received some assistance from Gates at Ticonderoga, and called General Lee to his assistance, who, however, disobeyed the summons, and was afterwards captured by the British army. Pursued by a superior force under Lord Cornwallis, Washington was driven from point to point till he reached the Pennsylvanian side of the Delaware. The success of the English had been indeed remarkable. In the course of a few



BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.

months they had driven the Americans from Canada and New York; they had taken possession of Rhode Island without opposition; they had overrun the whole of the Jerseys, and nothing but the Delaware saved Philadelphia from capture. The Congress fled precipitately to Baltimore. Washington was only rescued from complete disaster by the incapacity of Howe. Washington perceived that unless he struck some brilliant blow before the close of the year his cause was hopeless. The whole province was going over to the English. He expected them to cross in overwhelming numbers as soon as the river was frozen. His troops were only engaged for service till the end of the year, and he had not the most distant prospect of retaining them a moment longer. Under these desperate circumstances he planned the surprise of Trenton. It was carried out with admirable skill and courage. On Christmas night, 1776, he crossed the Delaware, surprised the German troops in the midst of their Christmas revelries, and with a loss of only two officers, and two privates wounded, succeeded in capturing a thousand

prisoners, and recrossing the river in safety. This produced a miraculous effect on the spirit of the Americans. Philadelphia was saved and Congress returned to it. The troops consented to remain a little longer under arms. In the first week of 1777, Washington fell unexpectedly on Princetown, and defeated three regiments who were posted there. In this way the greater part of New Jer-

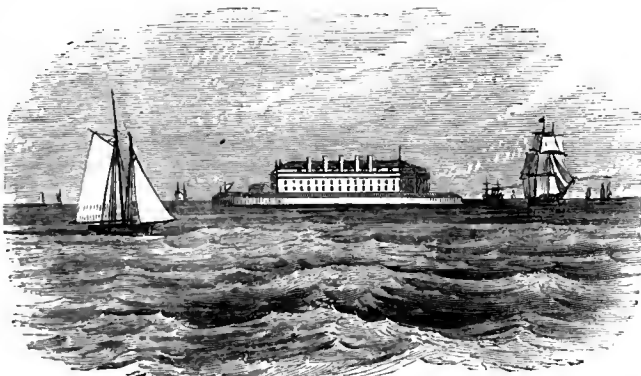


GENERAL SCHUYLER'S MANSION IN ALBANY.

sey was retaken by the Americans, and a strong change in public feeling took place.

While these events were in progress, the French were considering whether they should assist the Americans. In the beginning of 1776, Vergennes laid a memorial on American affairs before Louis XVI. It was written in a tone of extreme hostility to England, and although it did not actually recommend war, it urged the Government to adopt a more aggressive policy. He pointed out that the continuance of the war, for at least one year, was desirable in the interests both of France and Spain, and he recommended that while France should continue outwardly on good terms with England, she should secretly assist the American rebels with military stores and money, and at the same time prepare for war. The advice of Turgot was of a totally different character. He argued that the strongest necessity of France was peace; that the success of England in America, if it were conceivable, would be a real gain to France. The true interest of France was to remain perfectly passive. She must avoid any course that would lead to

war. She must give no money and no special assistance to the revolted colonies ; but that the ministers might shut their eyes if either of the contending parties made purchases in French harbours. This robust and statesmanlike advice was not accepted. Vergennes continued his tortuous course of secret conspiracy. Silas Deane was sent to Europe in the summer of 1776, to represent the American cause. He was able, before the end of the year, to obtain for his countrymen thirty thousand stand of arms, thirty thousand suits of clothes, more than two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and great quantities of other military stores. In September, 1776, Franklin and Arthur Lee, together with Deane, were appointed Commissioners at Paris, for the purpose of negotiating treaties with foreign powers, and especially with France. France continued to give active assistance to America. Privateers were sheltered and equipped ; prizes were secretly sold in the French harbours ; experienced officers, trained in the French army, were sent to America to organise or command the American forces. Spain was not behindhand in following the same line of conduct. The American representatives might say with some truth, " All Europe is for us. Every nation wishes to see Britain humbled, having all, in their turn, been offended by her insolence, which in prosperity she is apt to discover on all occasions." Deane was nearly harassed to death with applications of officers to go out to America.



THE HUDSON : FORT LAFAYETTE.

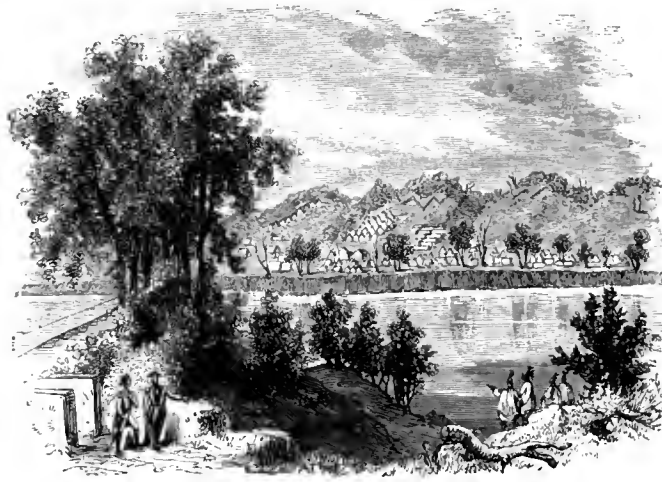
He said that if he had ten ships he could have filled them all. The most conspicuous of these volunteers was the Marq is Lafayette, who abandoned a great fortune and position, and a young wife, to serve gratuitously in Washington's army, and who was appointed a major-general at the age of nineteen. The Americans found themselves in some difficulty with their new allies, since, as a general rule, they were quite unable either to speak or to understand French.

In June, 1777, Washington, now appointed Dictator, extended his lines along a chain of hills commanding the fertile country of the Jerseys, with the Delaware and the Hudson in his rear, and his headquarters at Morristown and Middlebrook. His army mustered little more than eight thousand men, but this small body was so well disposed that General Howe abandoned the Jerseys altogether, and determined to make an attempt upon Philadelphia from the head of Chesapeake Bay. For this purpose he embarked fourteen thousand men on board the fleet, and landed them at the Head of Elk, in Maryland (August 5), whence he advanced northward as far as the Brandywine River. Washington hastened to cover Philadelphia, and, reaching the Brandywine before Howe's arrival, he deter-

mined to resist their crossing the river at Chad's Ford. But while the Hessians made a feint of crossing the river at the ford, Cornwallis, with a large portion of the army, crossed higher up, and falling upon Washington's flank, while the Hessians attacked him in front, compelled him to retreat with heavy loss. This battle was fought on September 11, 1777, and a fortnight later Howe entered Philadelphia, the Congress retiring first to Lancaster and then to Yorktown. Washington was again defeated at Germantown on October 4. He spent the winter at Valley Forge, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. Nothing could exceed the misery of the army. On one occasion they were three successive days without bread, on another two days without meat. There was no soap or vinegar; they had neither shirts nor shoes. Their marches might be traced by the tracks of their bleeding feet. But while the army in Pennsylvania only owed its preservation to the apathy of the English, an event had happened in the north

which changed the whole fortune of the war and made the triumph of the revolution a certainty.

The masterly operations by which Carleton expelled the American invaders out of Canada were intended to be followed up by the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The latter of these was indeed taken in October, 1776, but during the winter Carleton was superseded in



THE HUDSON: BURGOWNE ENCAMPMENT.

the conduct of military operations by General Burgoyne, who had more talent for writing plays than for commanding armies. The army under Burgoyne, consisting of seven thousand good troops, English, Germans, and Canadians, beside several hundred Indians, assembled at Crown Point in the month of June. The expedition was to be assisted by the advance of another British force up the Hudson from New York, under General Clinton, the object being to obtain control of that river, and thus cut off New England from the rest of the American states.

After the capture of Fort Ticonderoga on July 5, Burgoyne's next object was to secure Fort Edward on the Hudson, which he found abandoned on July 29. During this interval, however, his men were wearied with a long and harassing march through a difficult country; the cruelties of his Indians roused the exasperation of the inhabitants, and instead of any of them joining him, as he had been led to expect, they gathered round the American General Schuyler, having first destroyed all their mills and stores, and driven their cattle before them. The insurgent army was thus raised to thirteen thousand men, and

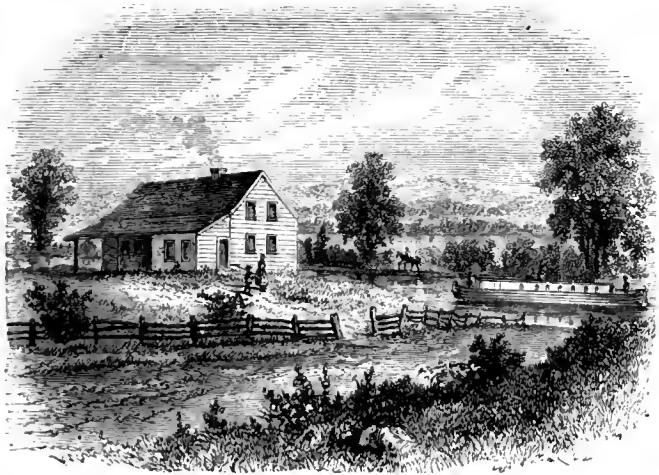


presently afterwards placed under the command of General Gates, with Arnold as his second.

Burgoyne's position now grew daily more critical. He was deprived of all means of supply from the surrounding country, and too far removed from his communications with Canada. An attempt to seize the American stores at Bennington failed with heavy loss; an expedition, which had been sent to make a diversion in his favour, down the Mohawk, was defeated and driven back to Canada; while no news came of Clinton's advance up the Hudson to meet him. In this position he was encouraged to advance by an unlooked-for supply of provisions for thirty days, and he crossed the Hudson to the plains of Saratoga, where he encamped and threw up entrenchments.

The Americans were posted to the southward, on a low range of hills called Behm's Heights; and on September 9 an encounter here took place, from which

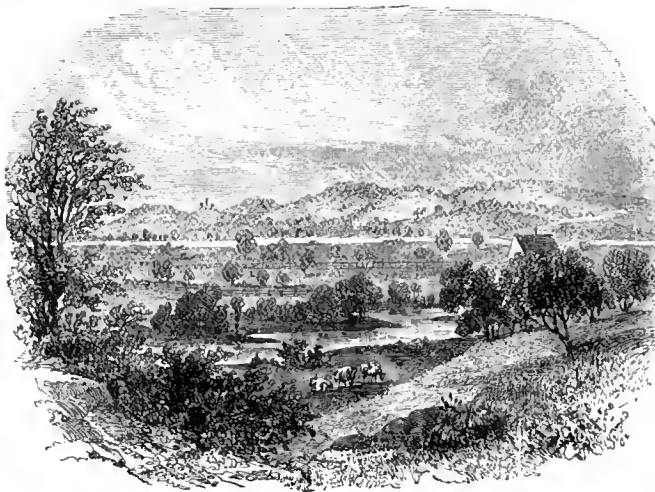
Burgoyne, although victorious, derived no advantage. His stock of provisions now grew alarmingly low; and in order to replenish them a foraging party was sent out on October 7, which was unfortunately overtaken by Arnold, and compelled to beat a hasty retreat empty-handed. In this extremity, the British general fell back upon Saratoga, with the view



THE HUDSON: GENERAL GATES' HEADQUARTERS.

of returning to Fort Edward, and thence making his way back to Canada. But a large hostile force had now gathered in his rear, and entirely cut off his retreat in this direction; the boats which he had left at Ticonderoga had been destroyed; he had only three days' provisions left, and no news came of Clinton's progress up the Hudson. With the advice of a council of war, Burgoyne therefore agreed to surrender; the terms of a convention were soon arranged, and the British troops, reduced to three thousand five hundred, laid down their arms upon honourable terms on October 17, 1777. The convention of Saratoga determined the fate of the war. The decision of the French was quickly taken. A week after they heard the news, they informed the American commissioners that they were resolved to enter into a treaty of commerce with America, to acknowledge and support her independence. The only condition exacted was that the Americans should make no peace with England which did not recognise that independence. Treaties to this effect were signed in Paris on February 6, 1778.

The attitude of George III. and Lord North towards the American War was very peculiar. Nearly all the great politicians of Europe—Frederick the Great in Prussia, Turgot in France, Chatham and Burke in England—pronounced the course which the English Government were taking to be ruinous, and the bitterness with which the Opposition attacked Lord North was aggravated by the belief that he did not really approve of the war, but that the policy he pursued was due to his desire to retain office. We have now before us the correspondence between Lord North and George III. during this eventful epoch, which proves that, for the space of five years, the Prime Minister, at the entreaty of the King, carried on a bloody, costly, and disastrous war in direct opposition to his own judgment and to his own wishes. Again and again he entreated that his resignation might be accepted, but again and again he yielded to the request of the King, who threatened, if his minister resigned, to abdicate the throne. He implored him by his honour as a gentleman and his loyalty as a subject to continue at his post, and though he was



THE HUDSON : SCENE OF BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER. -

perfectly aware that Lord North regarded the war as hopeless, continued to urge that resignation would be an act of culpable, cowardly, and dishonourable desertion. Lord North was an amiable but weak man, keenly susceptible to personal influence, and unhappily for his country and his own reputation, he suffered himself to be swayed

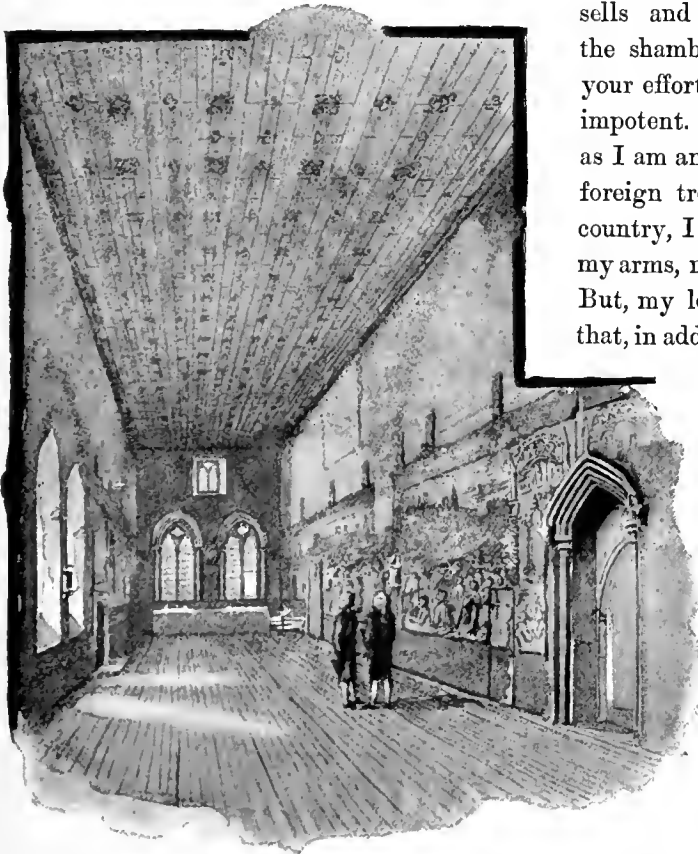
and to become the instrument of a policy of which he entirely disapproved. The King was determined under no circumstances to recognise the independence of America, but he acknowledged after the surrender of Burgoyne when the French war became inevitable, that he could no longer hope for the unconditional submission. He consented, therefore, that new propositions should be made for the Americans.

Parliament met on November 18. Lord Chatham, though he had scarcely strength to move, attended on the first day of the session and spoke upon the Address. In the course of his speech he said, "I love and honour the English troops; I know their virtues and their valour. I know they can achieve anything except impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America is an impossibility. You cannot, I venture to say, you cannot conquer America. What is your present situation there? We do not know the worst, but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing and suffered much, besides the sufferings,

perhaps total loss, of the northern force" (a prophecy which proved to be only too true). "The best-appointed army that ever took the field, commanded by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines. He was obliged to relinquish his attempt and with great delay and danger to adopt a new and distant plan of operations. We shall soon know and, in any event, have reason to lament what may have happened since. As to conquest, therefore, I repeat, it is impossible. You may swell every expense and every effort still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy and borrow; traffic and barter with every

little, pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince; your efforts are for ever vain and impotent. If I were an American as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I would never lay down my arms, never, never, never! . . . But, my lords, who is the man that, in addition to these disgraces

and mischiefs of our army, has dared to authorise and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage?—to call to civilised alliance the wild and inhuman savage of the woods, to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his

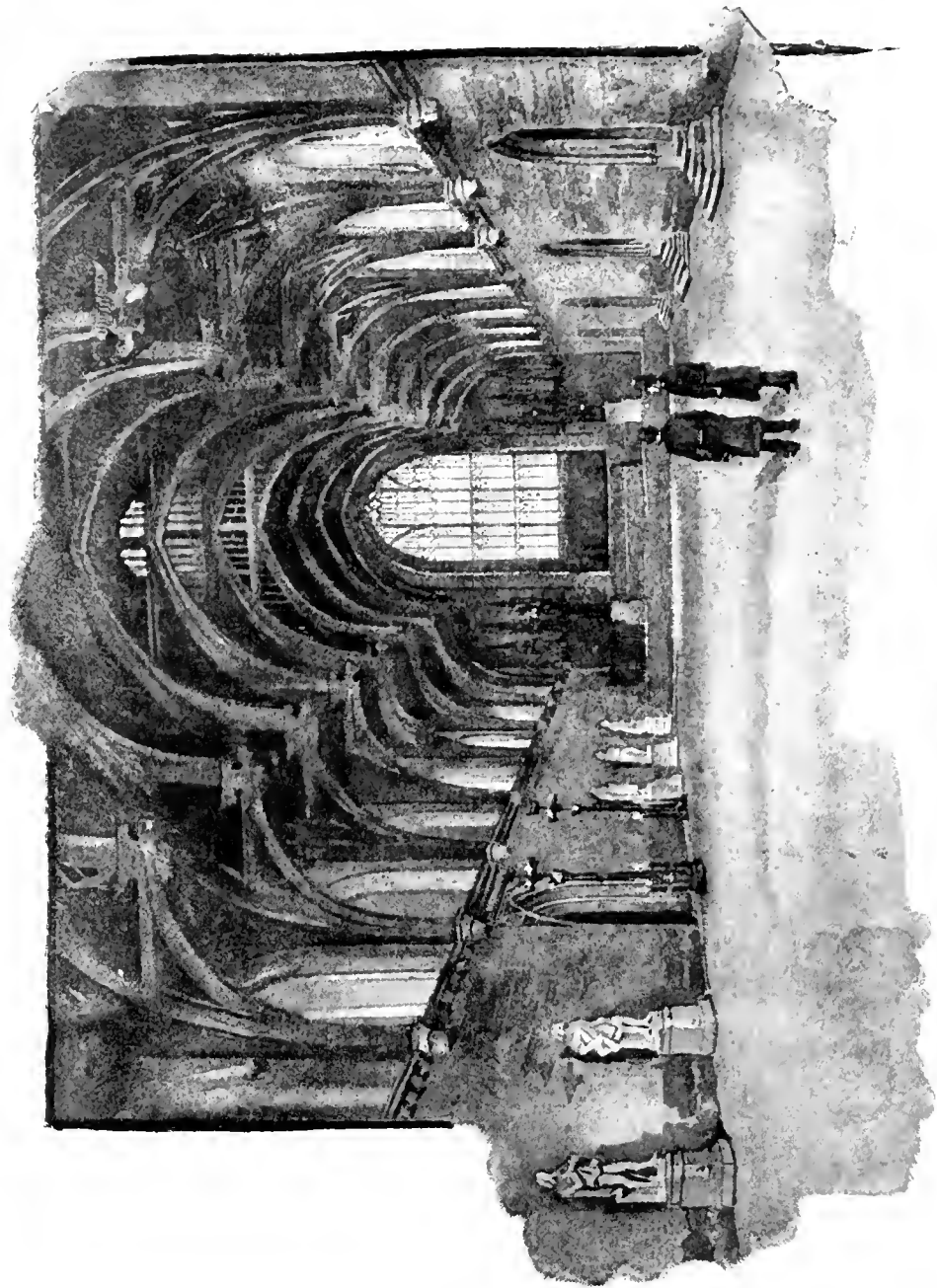


THE PAINTED CHAMBER, WESTMINSTER. APARTMENTS IN THE PALACE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

barbarous war against our brethren? My lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment. Unless thoroughly done away with, it will be a stain on the national character. It is a violation of the constitution; I believe it is against law." He concluded by proposing that an address should be presented to the King that he might be pleased to cause the most speedy and effectual measures to be taken for restoring peace in America, and that no time should be lost in proposing an immediate cessation of hostilities there, in order to the opening a treaty for the final settlement of the tranquillity of these invaluable provinces by a removal of the unhappy causes of this ruinous civil war, and by a just

and adequate security against the return of the like calamities in times to come.

In the course of the debate Lord Suffolk, the Secretary of State, defended the



INTERIOR OF WESTMINSTER HALL.

employment of the Indians in the war. He argued that it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that God and nature put into our hands. Chatham retorted with the most magnificent eloquence in a speech which must have been

entirely unpremeditated. "I am astonished," he exclaimed, as he rose, "shocked, to hear such principles confessed—to hear them avowed in this House, or in this country; principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian! My



DOVEL.

lords, I did not intend to have encroached again upon your attention; but I cannot repress my indignation. I feel myself impelled by every duty. My lords, we are called upon as members of this House, as men, as Christian men, to

protest against such notions standing near the throne, polluting the ear of Majesty. 'That God and nature put into our hands.' I know not what ideas that lord may entertain of God and nature, but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife, to the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating—literally, my lords, *eating*—the mangled victims of the barbarous battles! Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine or natural, and every generous feeling of humanity. And, my lords, they shock every sentiment of honour; they shock me as a lover of honourable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity.

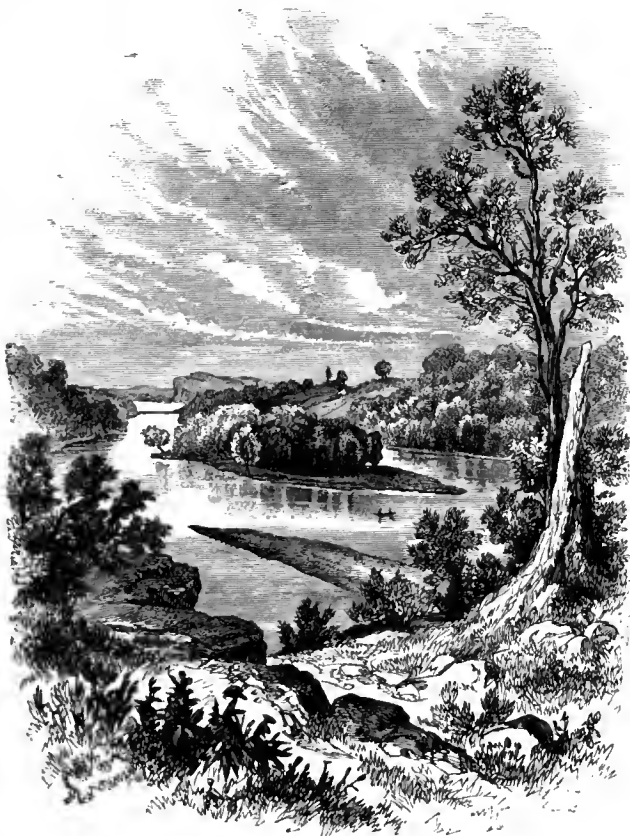


COSTUME.

“These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that Right Reverend Bench, those holy ministers of the gospel and pious pastors of our Church; I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their God: I appeal to the wisdom and the law of this learned bench to defend and support the justice of their country: I call upon the bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn; upon the learned judges, to interpose the purity of their ermine to save us from this pollution: I call upon the honour of your lordships to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own: I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country to vindicate the national character: I invoke the genius of the constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls the immortal ancestor of this noble lord frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country. In vain he led your victorious fleet against the boasted Armada of Spain; in vain he defended and established the honour, the liberties, the religion, the Protestant religion, of this country, against the arbitrary cruelties of Popery and the Inquisition, if these more than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are let loose among us, to turn forth into our settlements, among our ancient connections, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child! to send forth the infidel savage—against whom? against your Protestant brethren; to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name, with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war!—*hell-hounds, I say, of savage war!* Spain armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America, and we improve on the inhuman example even of Spanish cruelty; we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion; endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity.

“My lords, this awful subject, so important to our honour, our constitution, and our religion, demands the most solemn and effectual enquiry. And I again call upon your lordships, and the united powers of the State, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. And I again implore those holy prelates of our religion to do away these iniquities from among us. Let them perform a lustration; let them purify this House, and this country, from this sin. My lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles.”

On February 17, 1778, Lord North rose to move bills of conciliation, which virtually conceded all that America had long been asking. The act remodeling the constitution of Massachusetts and the tea duty were both absolutely and unconditionally repealed. Parliament promised to impose no taxes upon the colonies for the sake of revenue, and although it still retained the right of levying duties for the regulation of commerce, it agreed that those duties should always be applied to pub-



MOUTH OF THE CROTON.

lic purposes in the colony in which they were levied, in such manner that the colonial assembly should return it. Commissioners were to be sent out to America to negotiate a peace, with full powers to treat with Congress; to proclaim a cessation of hostilities by land and sea; to grant pardons to all descriptions of persons, and suspend the operation of all Acts of Parliament relating to the American Colonies which had been passed since February, 1763. The speech in which these measures were introduced was listened to with profound attention, but without a single mark of approbation from any description of man, or any particular man, in the House. Astonishment, dejection, and fear overclouded the whole assembly. The Commissioners appointed were the Earl of

Carlisle, William Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, and George Johnstone, a former governor of Florida. The Commissioners did everything in their power to execute their commission, even promising to secure an American representation in the English Parliament; but Congress declined any reconciliation which did not include a recognition of American independence. Their new alliance with France was extremely popular, and on May 4, 1778, the treaties with that country were unanimously ratified by Congress.

England and France were now at war. It was indeed a terrible crisis in English history. We had not an ally in the world. One army was a prisoner in America, and the great bulk of the English troops were confined in Philadelphia and New York. It was impossible to raise any more troops in Germany, and with these small resources we had to confront the united powers of France and Spain. All eyes were now turned to Chatham, as the only statesman who could save the country, but the King absolutely refused to send for him, although he would



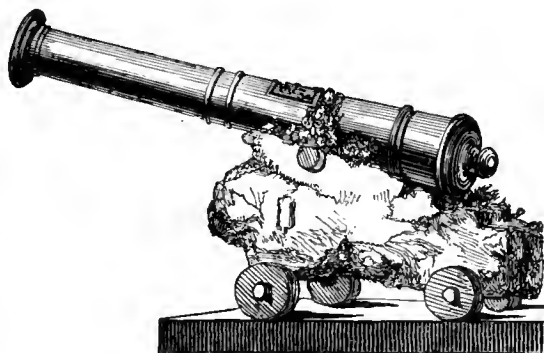
WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT TAPPAN.

not have objected to receiving him in a situation subordinate to Lord North. He said that the Opposition would make him a slave for the rest of his days, and that whilst any ten men in the kingdom would stand by him, he would not give himself up into bondage. He would never put his hand to what would make him miserable to the last hour of his life.

Rather than be shackled by those desperate men, he would prefer to see any form of government introduced into England, and lose his crown rather than wear it as a disgrace. It is strange that the King should have held this language, considering that a few years later he was compelled to dismiss Lord North ignominiously, and to make the youthful son of Chatham Prime Minister. As a matter of fact the days of Chatham were numbered, and the hand of death was already upon him. On April 7, 1778, he appeared for the last time in the House of Lords. Wrapped in flannel and supported on crutches, he was led in by his son-in-law Lord Mahon, and by his second son, who was afterwards Prime Minister. He spoke against acknowledging the independence of America. His words had something of their ancient fire. "My lords," he said, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me—that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and



noble Monarchy. Where is the man that will dare to advise such a measure? His Majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom, that has survived whole and entire, the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman Conquest; that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada, now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon? Surely, my Lords, this nation is no longer what it was! Shall a people that seventeen years ago was the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell its ancient inveterate enemy, Take all we have, only give us



GUN FROM THE ROYAL GEORGE.

peace? It is impossible! . . . I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its rights, though I know them not. But, my lords, any state is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort; and if we must fall, let us fall like men!" The Duke of Richmond spoke in reply, and Chatham attempting to rise in answer, after two or three unsuccessful efforts to stand, fainted and fell down on his seat. The Duke of Cumberland, Lord Temple, Lord Stanford, and the other lords near him caught him in their arms; the windows were opened, and the House immediately

cleared. He was taken to Hayes, where he lingered till May 11. A public funeral and monument was voted to him, but the King complained to Lord North that this compliment, if paid to his general conduct, was rather an offensive measure to him personally. When the funeral took place, it was observed that all



THE SCHUYLER MANSION.

persons connected with the Court were conspicuously absent.

Clinton had spent the winter at Philadelphia in mirth and gaiety, but in June, 1778, he was ordered to evacuate that town and to fall back upon New York. The blow was a terrible one, and no less than three thousand of the inhabitants

went into banishment with the British army. In July Count d'Estaing arrived off the coast with a French fleet of twelve ships of the line, four frigates, and about four thousand French soldiers. He first went to the Delaware, but as the English were already in New York, he followed them there. He then tried to take Newport, in Rhode Island, but was prevented by the sudden appearance of Admiral Howe's fleet. The French then went to Boston, and finally sailed to the West Indies. Thus the campaign of 1778 ended without any material results. In



SHOE OF THE PERIOD.

April, 1779, a convention was signed between France and Spain, which stipulated among other things, that no peace should be concluded till Gibraltar was restored to Spain, and in June Spain declared war against England. Lord North was accused

of having neglected to take precautions against this rupture, and loud demands were made for the removal and punishment of the ministers. Lord North, however, continued in office to carry out a policy which was contrary to his convictions. In August, 1779, the combined fleets of France and Spain, consisting of at least sixty ships of the line, with the proportionate number of frigates, entered the English Channel. For the first time since 1690, England saw a vast hostile fleet commanding her seas, and threatening and insulting her coasts. There were great fears that a landing would be effected. The militia were embodied; swift cruisers traversed the sea in every direction, watching the movements of the enemy; volunteers were raised, and a proclamation was issued, ordering the cattle and draft horses to be driven from the coast in case a landing were attempted. Fortunately, the hostile fleet was feebly commanded and imperfectly equipped. Its crews were ravaged by sickness, and early in September it retired to Brest to escape the equinoctial gales. In the meantime, the famous privateer, *Paul Jones*, was terrifying the northern coasts, capturing prizes, and threatening Edinburgh. The most important event of the year was the siege of Gibraltar, which was begun by the Spaniards in the month of June.

In the ensuing winter a violent agitation was commenced against the personal system of government by the Crown. A large and influential meeting was held in the city of York on the requisition of the Marquis of Rockingham and Sir George Savile, at which were present the leading noblemen, gentry, clergymen, and manu-



SHOE OF THE PERIOD.

facturers of the county, besides the independent yeomanry. A petition to Parliament, eventually signed by nine thousand freeholders, was here drawn up, setting forth the excessive taxation which oppressed the country, and complaining that, in consequence of the increase of overpaid officers, sinecure places, and pensions, the Crown had acquired an unconstitutional influence which, if not checked, might soon prove fatal to the liberties of the country. A committee of sixty-one gentlemen was appointed to correspond with similar associations for the purpose of pro-

moting the ends of the petition, and for preparing a plan of a national union. A declaration was then issued, stating that the principal objects of the association were retrenchment of the public expenditure, parliamentary reform by the addition of a hundred county members, and triennial parliaments. The example of York was speedily followed by Middlesex, by twenty-three other counties, and by eleven of the largest towns; in most of which corresponding committees were appointed and similar proceedings taken.

The great Yorkshire petition was presented to the Commons on February 8 by Sir George Savile. It was followed by other similar petitions which together represented the sentiments of more than a hundred thousand electors. The petitions were to be taken into consideration on April 6, 1780, when Mr. Dunning rose in committee of the whole House and moved "That in the opinion of this committee the influence has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." This motion with a slight alteration was carried by a majority of 233 against 215. Some days later, however, the old spirit of subservience to the Crown returned. A proposal to report Dunning's resolution was negatived by a majority of 43. An address praying the King not to dissolve Parliament until measures had been taken to diminish the influence of the Crown was rejected by a still larger majority. Similar votes were carried in the House of Lords, and the King punished the Marquis of Carmarthen and the Earl of Pembroke for the part they had taken in Opposition by removing them from their Lord-lieutenancies.

One of the sources of royal power for purposes of corruption was the great extent of the Civil List, and this was defended on the ground that the expense of the Household was extremely heavy.

On February 11, 1780, a plan for economical reform was introduced by Burke. The principal features of his scheme were the abolition of useless offices which had been retained from feudal times and the consolidation of various departments of the administration. The retrenchment which he proposed was not large but the great object he hoped to effect was the diminution of parliamentary patronage, and the introduction of order and regularity into the public expenditure. Burke's speech on introducing the Bill was marked by more than the usual amount of eloquence and imagination. Speaking of the Board of Works, which had consumed £400,000 in seven years, he said, "The good works of that Board of Works are as carefully concealed as other good works ought to be—they are perfectly invisible—but though it is the perfection of charity to be concealed, it is, sir, the property and glory of magnificence to appear and stand forward to the eye." But the most famous passage is that in which he satirises the fact that the post of turnspit in the royal kitchen was held by a member of Parliament. "There was another disaster far more doleful than this. I shall state it, as the



AFTER HOGARTH.

cause of that misfortune lies at the bottom of almost all our prodigality. Lord Talbot attempted to reform the kitchen ; but such, as he well observed, is the consequence of having duty done by one person whilst another enjoys the emoluments, that he found himself frustrated in all his designs. On that rock his whole adventure split, his whole scheme of economy was dashed to pieces ; his



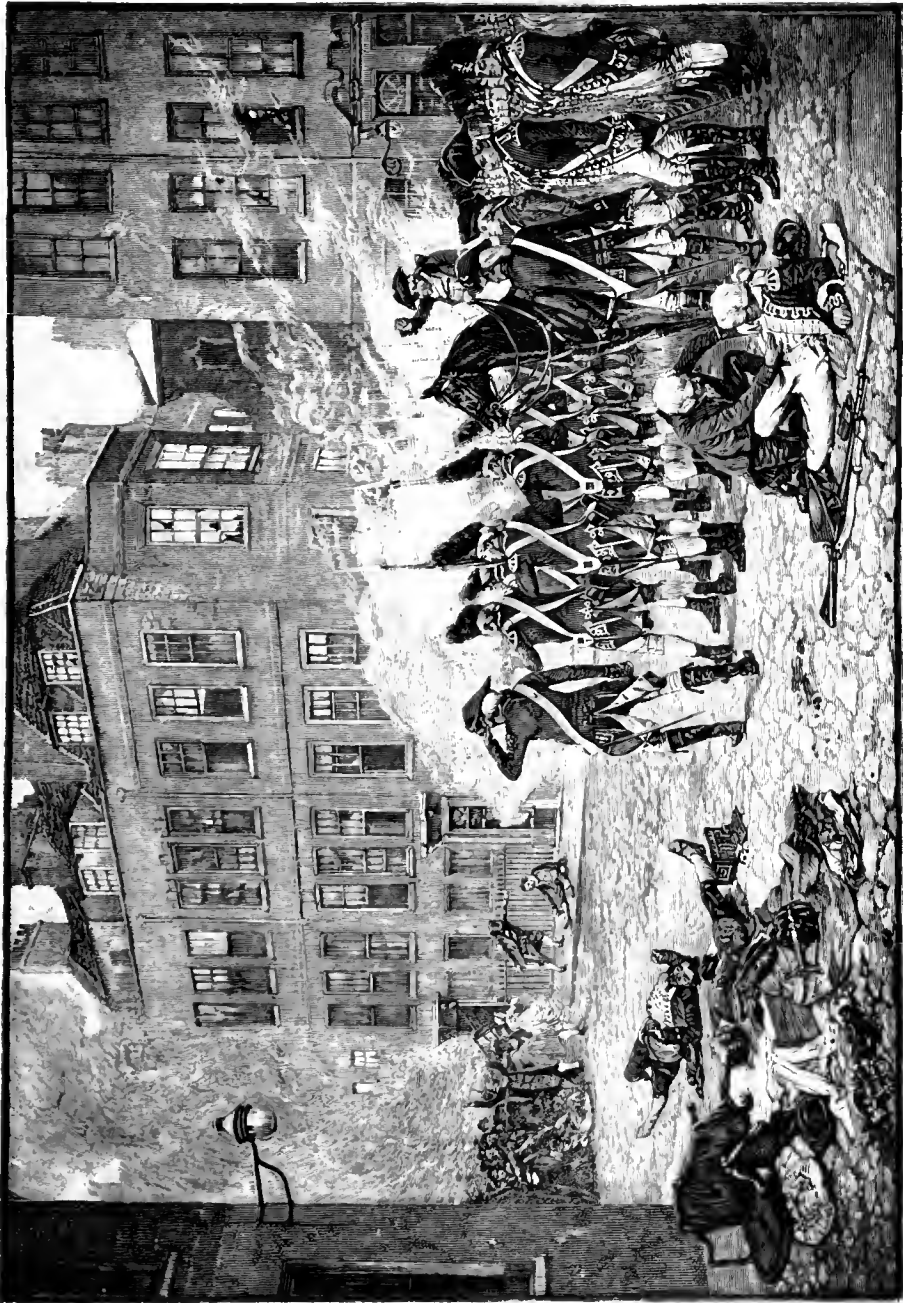
YORK MINSTER FROM THE WALLS.

department became more expensive than ever ; the Civil List debt accumulated— Why? It was truly from a cause, which though perfectly adequate to the effect one would not have instantly guessed — it was *because the turnspit in the King's kitchen was a member of Parliament.* The King's domestic servants were all undone ; his tradesmen remained unpaid, and became bankrupt — *because the turnspit in the King's kitchen was a member of Parliament.* His Majesty's slumbers were interrupted, his pillow was stuffed with thorns, and his peace of mind entirely broken — *because the King's turnspit was a member of Parliament.* The judges

were unpaid ; the justice of the kingdom bent and gave way ; the foreign ministers remained inactive and unprovided ; the system of Europe was dissolved ; the chain of our alliances was broken ; all the wheels of the Government at home and abroad were stopped—*because the King's turnspit was a member of Parliament.*"

Unfortunately the efforts which had been made to make the expression of public

opinion respected by Parliament were now frustrated by one of the most shameful riots that ever disgraced England. An address had been presented to the King on May 1st, 1778, from the principal members of the Roman Catholic body,



THE GORDON RIOTS.

declaring their obedience to the Government and their attachment to the constitution. A few days later Sir George Savile, seconded by Dunning, brought in a bill to relieve the Catholics of some of the penalties imposed upon them, and

especially those which had been enacted against them in 1700. This bill was supported by all parties and passed almost unanimously, and notice was given that a similar act would be proposed to Scotland in the following session. This stirred up the fanaticism of the northern kingdom. The measure was violently opposed by the Scotch Church, a Protestant Association was formed and Lord George Gordon, a crack-brained nobleman, was chosen as its president. He made violent speeches in Parliament which did more harm than good to his cause. He had boasted that he was able to bring 120,000 men to support him, and in order to prove the truth of his assertion, on May 29th, 1780, at a public meeting of the Protestant Association, he proposed that those present should accompany him in a body to the House of Commons to deliver the petition which they had drawn up. On June 2nd an immense mob assembled in St. George's Fields, from which they marched in procession to Palace Yard and took possession of the lobbies and the approaches to the Houses of Parliament. The mob swarmed through the lobbies and thundered at the doors of the House of Commons, while their leader inside was presenting their petition and moving that the House should immediately consider it in committee. Whilst the debate was proceeding on this point, Lord George Gordon frequently went out to report the proceedings to his followers and to name the members who spoke against the petition. This made the members so angry that several of them threatened him with personal chastisement, and Colonel Murray, one of his own relatives, declared that if the mob entered the House he would immediately run his sword through Lord George's body. A number of Horse Guards soon arrived with his Majesty at their head; the lobbies were cleared, and the rabble went home. The House then divided on the petition and rejected it by 192 votes against 6. The same night the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian Ministers were set on fire and entirely destroyed. The next day matters were more quiet, but towards evening a crowd assembled in Moorfields and continued to persecute the Catholics who inhabited that part of London. On Monday matters had got far worse, and the disturbances assumed the proportion of a popular insurrection. Catholic chapels were pulled down and the houses of persons supposed to be friendly with Catholics were destroyed. For the next two days London was in possession of the mob, and as many as thirty-six fires were raging at the same time. The prisoners were liberated from the gaols, but although the soldiers were called out no effectual attempt was made to quell the disturbances. The riots had now lasted for five days. On Wednesday, June 7th, the King held a meeting of the Privy Council ordering every member to be present. After much indecision had been shown, Wedderburn, the Attorney-General informed the King that it was competent for the sovereign and council to order the soldiers to suppress a riot without the authority of a magistrate. The King gave the necessary orders, which were carried out with great promptitude. The troops acted and the riot ceased. Nearly three hundred persons were shot dead in the streets or died in the hospitals of their wounds. On Thursday the streets were cleared. On Friday the shops reopened and resumed business. On Saturday Lord George Gordon, the author of all these calamities, was arrested on a

charge of high treason and committed to the Tower. Eventually, about sixty or seventy of the rioters were convicted, of whom twenty-one were executed. Wedderburn was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, with the title of Lord Loughborough. Lord George Gordon was brought to trial but was acquitted on a technical point. He eventually went mad and died a Jew. It is creditable to the character of Wilkes that he did his best to put down the riots and gave the soldiers every assistance in his power. It is a curious fact that while the Gordon rioters were thundering at the door of the House of Lords the Duke of Richmond should have been introducing in that assembly a bill for radical reform. He advocated annual parliaments, manhood suffrage and electoral districts, but the time chosen for his motion was not favourable, and it is needless to say that it was rejected.

In the year 1780 the southern campaign in America was vigorously prosecuted.

General Clinton landed in the neighbourhood of Charlestown on March 29th, after a stormy and disastrous voyage. The town was obliged to capitulate on May 12th, although it had been carefully fortified. More than five thousand men surrendered as prisoners of war. The English loss was extremely small. In the beginning of June Clinton returned to New York, leaving a detachment of four thousand men under Cornwallis to prosecute the war. The English thought after this victory that America was at their feet. Clinton before he left South Carolina invited the inhabitants to enrol themselves in the royal militia, and



TRAITOR'S GATE.

offered a free pardon to all insurgents who had not been concerned in the execution of loyalists, and at the same time threatened to confiscate the goods of all who again took arms against the King. Another and more injudicious proclamation rendered neutrality impossible. Soon afterwards a large number of American troops marched through North Carolina, which eventually amounted to about six thousand men, and on August 16th a very severe battle was fought near Camden. Cornwallis had some superiority in position, but the Americans were altogether nearly three times as numerous as the English. A victory was gained by the English, which was one of the most decisive of the whole war. The Americans lost all their cannon and the greater part of their baggage. Another American corps, in number about seven hundred, was intercepted by Colonel Tarleton and entirely defeated. By these two victories the American army in those provinces was annihilated or dispersed. The Americans were by these disasters only stimulated to further exertions. An invasion of

North Carolina entirely failed, and by the end of the year that province was completely evacuated. In the meantime little had happened in the northern provinces, as neither army was strong enough to attack. The winter was one of the coldest ever known in America, and the ice entirely prevented the action of the fleet.

At length, the long-expected French army arrived at Newport, on July 10, 1780. It was placed under the command of Washington. Clinton embarked six thousand men at New York, and resolved to attack the French in Newport. This enterprise, however, had to be abandoned. A second French expedition, which was expected in August, was blockaded in Brest by an English fleet. In September, 1780, a terrible shock was given to the confidence of the American army by the discovery of the person of Benedict Arnold. He was a strange character, an



LOUIS XVI., MARIE-ANTOINETTE, AND THE DAUPHIN, 1780.

admirable soldier, but a man of coarse fibre and violent ambition, delighting in adventure and combat, very extravagant in his taste, and at the same time arrogant, irritable, and insubordinate in his temper. Although Washington had a high opinion of him, there is no doubt that he was slighted by other military authorities. He was afterwards tried by court-martial and reprimanded, although Washington, in conveying the sentence, did all he could to mitigate the blow. There was no doubt that he

had violent enemies who were bent upon his ruin. Under these temptations he opened a correspondence with Clinton and sent him some useful and authentic pieces of intelligence. The correspondence was conducted on the English side under a false name, by Major André, the adjutant-general of the British army, a young officer of singular promise and popularity. After the sentence of the court-martial Arnold determined to betray his countrymen, and to make himself the principal instrument in restoring America to the British rule. The plot nearly succeeded. Arnold asked for, and obtained, the command of West Point, which was the key of the American position. He arrived at his post in the first week in August, and immediately began to concert measures with Clinton for surrendering it to the English. It was necessary to send a confidential agent to arrange the details of the surrender, and André was chosen for the purpose. Arnold invited



André to come within the American lines, but Clinton would not allow him to do anything which would bring him under the category of a spy. A British ship with André on board, sailed up the Hudson to within a few miles of the American camp, and a boat with muffled oars was sent a little before midnight to bring André to shore. The two conspirators met at a lonely spot on the bank of the river on the night of September 21st. André wore his uniform, covered by a blue great-coat, and as they met outside the lines could, if arrested, only be treated as a prisoner of war. As the negotiations were still unfinished at daybreak Arnold induced André to enter the American lines and take shelter in a house. He remained there all day, and in the evening prepared to return. As the ship had been obliged to change her position, André was forced to return by land to New York, a distance of about thirty miles. He put on a civilian's dress, obtained a pass from Arnold and concealed the papers that had been drawn up in his boots. He passed the American lines in safety, slept in a house beyond them, and next day set out alone. He had not proceeded far when he was stopped by three young men, who were playing cards near the road. Had André produced his pass he would have been allowed to depart, but believing that the men were British he proclaimed himself a British officer. The papers were found in his boots and were sent to Washington. Arnold, on hearing of the capture, immediately took flight and was able to gain the English ship in safety. He received from the English Government the sum of about £6,300, with the title of General, was appointed colonel of an English regiment; but his name was disgraced for ever. André was



GATEWAY, LAMBETH PALACE.

condemned to be hanged as a spy, although he asked of Washington the single favour that he might be shot. Washington has been much blamed for this act of severity, but on a fair review of the circumstances, it is probable that he acted rightly.

Although the campaign of 1780 had been undecisive the English were still able to assert their supremacy at sea. Admiral Rodney was appointed to the chief command in the West Indies at the close of 1779. In the beginning of the next year he captured fourteen Spanish merchant ships, and on January 16th he defeated the Spanish admiral off Cape St. Vincent. He then proceeded to the relief of Gibraltar and then sailed to the West Indies, where, though he came up with the combined French and Spanish fleets, he was unable to bring them to a general engagement. Events now happened which saddled England with new enemies. England had always claimed and exercised the right of searching neutral vessels

during the war, but the neutral maritime powers contended that the cargoes of an enemy were covered by the neutral flag. Relying upon this the Dutch had enjoyed most of the carrying trade for France and Spain. The Dutch refused to admit these pretensions and fired upon the English when they attempted to board their ships. The English admiral replied by a broadside and the Dutch flagship was taken into Spithead as a prize. The doctrine that free ships make free goods was now asserted by Russia. Catharine II., the empress of that country, issued a manifesto on February 26th, 1780, which denied the right to search neutral vessels, which declared that contraband could only be defined by treaty and that no blockade was valid unless it was strictly enforced. This was the origin of the famous coalition called the Armed Neutrality; Denmark and Sweden joined it immediately, and nearly all the neutral Powers acceded to it for the next two years. France and Spain professed their adhesion to it, but England gave an evasive answer. Matters became so strained between the English and the Dutch that only a spark was required to kindle the war. In September, 1780, an English frigate captured an American packet near Newfoundland. Among the prisoners was Henry Laurens, late President of the Congress, who was being sent over as ambassador to Holland. He threw his papers overboard but an English sailor sprang into the water and caught them before they sank. Among them was found a copy of a treaty between Holland and the United States of America, dated September, 1778. There was also evidence that Holland was supplying America with large quantities of munitions of war. The constitution of Holland was at this time so peculiar that it was possible for one province to make peace or war without compromising the others, and there was no proof that the States General were aware of what was going on. Our ambassador at the Hague was ordered to demand satisfaction and the punishment of Van Berckel, who had signed the treaty. The Dutch were ready to disavow the conduct of Holland, but they were so dilatory and evasive in granting the satisfaction which had been demanded that Sir Joseph Yorke was ordered to quit the Hague, and on December 20th, 1780, England declared war against Holland. Thus, in complete isolation, England was confronted by the united arms of France, Spain, Holland, and America. Hyder Ali was desolate in the Carnatic and menacing Madras, while twelve millions were added this year to the National Debt. The story of the year 1781, which opened with an event discreditable to England, will be told in the next volume.



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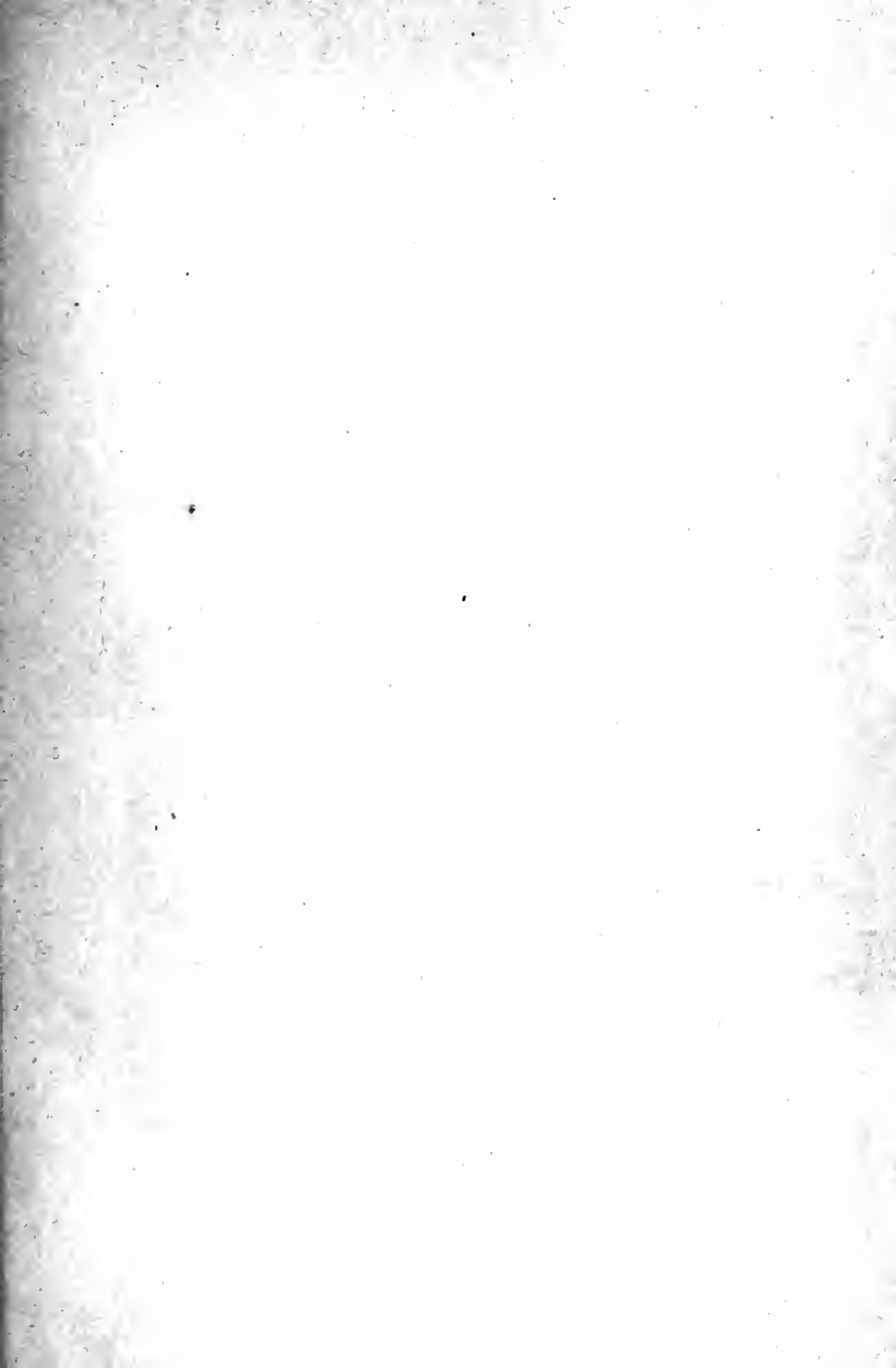
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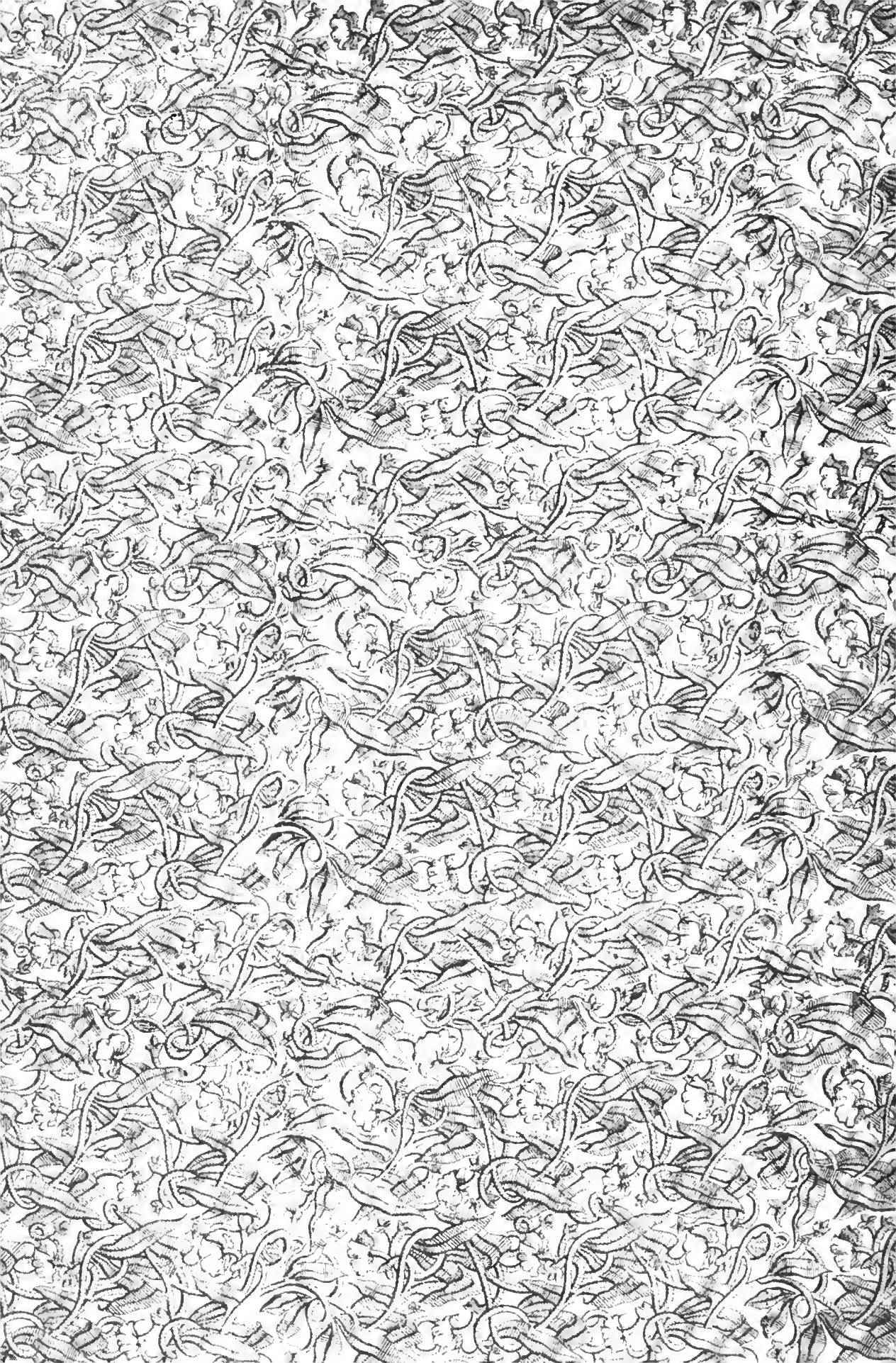
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